

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

**Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

**About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

B 1,415,646

# CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

# New York State Historical Association

WITH PROCEEDINGS OF THE
SECOND ANNUAL MEETING






THE GIFT OF
N.Y. State Hist. Assoc.
7-30-26

F
116
.N58

---

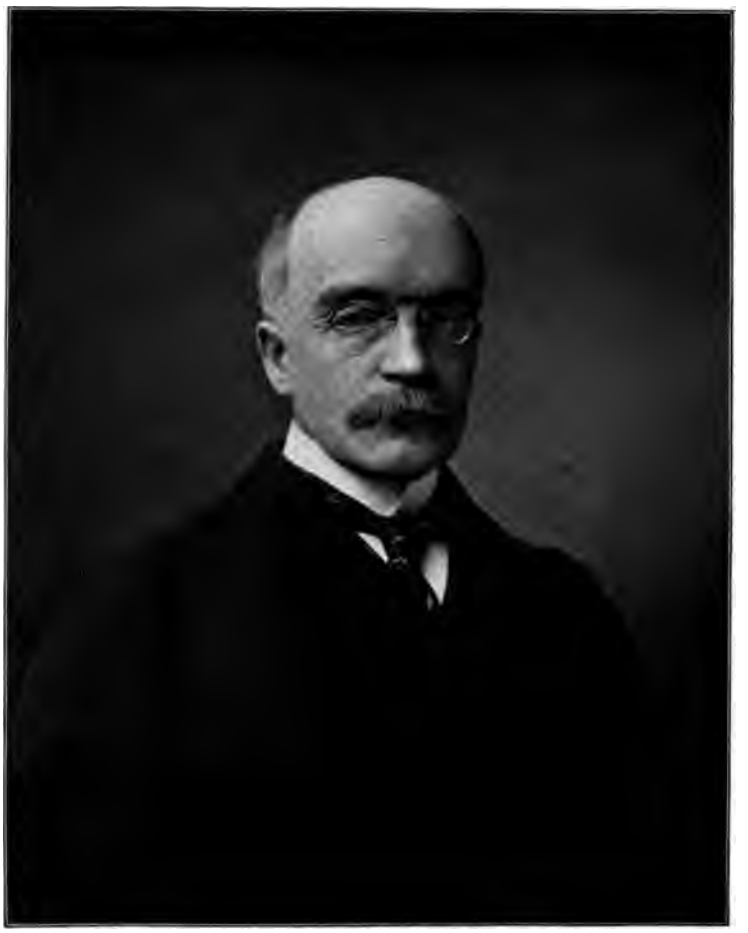
KINDLY ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT TO

MORRIS P. FERRIS,

Secretary,

32 BROADWAY,

NEW YORK.



JOHN BACH McMASTER, Litt. D.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

# New York State Historical Association

WITH PROCEEDINGS OF THE
SECOND ANNUAL MEETING




PUBLISHED BY THE
NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1901

Copyright, 1901,
BY THE
NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.



# NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

---

**President,**
HON. JAMES A. ROBERTS, Buffalo.

**First Vice-President,**
DANIEL C. FARR, PH. D., Glens Falls.

**Second Vice-President,**
GEN. HENRY E. TREMAIN, New York.

**Third Vice-President,**
JOHN BOULTON SIMPSON, Bolton.

**Treasurer,**
JAMES A. HOLDEN, Glens Falls.

**Secretary,**
MORRIS PATTERSON FERRIS, 71 Broadway, New York.

**Assistant Secretary,**
ROBERT O. BASCOM, Fort Edward.

## TRUSTEES.

HON. JAMES A. ROBERTS, Buffalo.
DR. DANIEL C. FARR, Glens Falls.
MR. JAMES A. HOLDEN, Glens Falls.
MR. JOHN BOULTON SIMPSON, Bolton.
HON. TIMOTHY L. WOODRUFF, Brooklyn.
DR. EVERETT R. SAWYER, Sandy Hill.
MR. ELWYN SEELYE, Lake George.
MR. FREDERICK B. RICHARDS, Ticonderoga.
MR. HOWLAND PELL, New York.
GEN. HENRY E. TREMAIN, New York.
REV. WILLIAM O. STEARNS, Glens Falls.
MR. SHERMAN WILLIAMS, Glens Falls.
MR. ROBERT O. BASCOM, Fort Edward.
COL. WILLIAM H. TIPPETTS, Lake George.
MR. HARRY W. WATROUS, Hague.
MR. ABRAHAM B. VALENTINE, New York.
REV. DR. JOSEPH E. KING, Fort Edward.
HON. HUGH HASTINGS, Albany.
MR. ASAHEL R. WING, Fort Edward.
MR. ELMER J. WEST, Glens Falls.
MR. WILLIAM S. OSTRANDER, Schuylerville.
HON. GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE, Sandy Hill.
COL. WILLIAM L. STONE, Mt. Vernon.
MR. MORRIS PATTERSON FERRIS, Dobbs Ferry.
REV. DR. GEORGE R. VAN DE WATER, New York.

# ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION.

We, Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, and Elmer J. West, of Glens Falls, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, of Sandy Hill, and Morris P. Ferris, of Dobbs Ferry, all in the State of New York, and all of us citizens of the United States, have associated ourselves together in a membership corporation, and do hereby make this our certificate under the laws of the State of New York.

The name of such corporation is the "New York State Historical Association."

The principal objects for which said corporation is formed are:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures, and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures and relics relating to the early history of the State, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

The territory in which the operations of this corporation are to be principally conducted is Warren, Washington, Essex, Clinton, Saratoga, and Hamilton counties, in the State of New York.

The principal office of said corporation is to be located at Caldwell, on Lake George, county of Warren, in the State of New York.

The number of the directors of said corporation, to be known as the Board of Trustees, is twenty-five.

The names and residences of the directors of said corporation, to hold office until the first annual meeting, and who shall be known as the Board of Trustees, are:

| | |
|---|---|
| James A. Roberts, | Buffalo. |
| Timothy L. Woodruff, | Brooklyn. |
| Daniel C. Farr, | Glens Falls. |
| Everett R. Sawyer, | Sandy Hill. |
| James A. Holden, | Glens Falls. |
| Robert O. Bascom, | Fort Edward. |
| Morris Patterson Ferris, | Dobbs Ferry. |
| Elwyn Seelye, | Lake George. |
| Grenville M. Ingalsbe, | Sandy Hill. |



149097

| | |
|---|---|
| Frederick B. Richards, | Ticonderoga. |
| Anson Judd Upson, | Glens Falls. |
| Asahel R. Wing, | Fort Edward. |
| William O. Stearns, | Glens Falls. |
| Robert C. Alexander, | New York. |
| Elmer J. West, | Glens Falls. |
| Hugh Hastings, | Albany. |
| Pliny T. Sexton, | Palmyra. |
| William S. Ostrander, | Schuylerville. |
| Sherman Williams, | Glens Falls. |
| William L. Stone, | Mt. Vernon. |
| Henry E. Tremain, | New York. |
| William H. Tippetts, | Lake George. |
| John Boulton Simpson, | Bolton. |
| Harry W. Watrous, | Hague. |
| Abraham B. Valentine, | New York. |

The first meeting of the corporation, for the purpose of organization, will be held on the 21st day of March, 1899.

The time for holding the annual meeting of the said corporation will be the last Tuesday in July of each year.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto severally subscribed our names and affixed our seals this 21st day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine.

| | |
|---|---|
| DANIEL C. FARR, | (L. S.) |
| JAMES A. HOLDEN, | (L. S.) |
| ELMER J. WEST, | (L. S.) |
| GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE, | (L. S.) |
| MORRIS P. FERRIS. | (L. S.) |

STATE OF NEW YORK, } ss.:
County of Warren, }

On this 21st day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, before me personally appeared Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, Elmer J. West, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, and Morris Patterson Ferris, to me known to be the individuals described in and who executed the foregoing articles of incorporation, and they duly severally acknowledged to me that they executed the same.

E. T. JOHNSON,
Notary Public.

(SEAL.)

# CHARTER OF NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS, A petition for incorporation by the University has been duly received, containing satisfactory statements made under oath as to the objects and plans of the proposed corporation, and as to the provision made for needed buildings, furniture, equipment, and for maintenance.

THEREFORE, Being satisfied that all requirements prescribed by law or University ordinance for such an association have been fully met, and that public interests justify such action, the Regents by virtue of the authority conferred on them by law, hereby incorporate James A. Roberts, Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, Morris Patterson Ferris, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Anson Judd Upson, Robert C. Alexander, Hugh Hastings, William S. Ostrander, William L. Stone, William H. Tippetts, Harry W. Watrous, William O. Stearns, Timothy L. Woodruff, Everett R. Sawyer, Robert O. Bascom, Elwyn Seelye, Frederick B. Richards, Asahel R. Wing, Elmer J. West, Pliny T. Sexton, Sherman Williams, Henry E. Tremain, John Boulton Simpson, Abraham B. Valentine, and their successors in office under the corporate name of

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

This corporation shall be located at Caldwell, Warren county, New York.

Its first trustees shall be the twenty-five above named incorporators.

Its object shall be to promote historical research, to disseminate knowledge of the history of the State by lectures and publications, to establish a library and museum at Caldwell, to mark places of historic interest, and to acquire custody or control of historic places.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Regents grant this charter No. 1,245, under seal of the University, at the Capitol at [SEAL.] Albany, April 24, 1899.

ANSON JUDD UPSON, Chancellor.

MELVIL DEWEY, Secretary.

# CONSTITUTION.

## ARTICLE I.

### Name.

This Society shall be known as "The New York State Historical Association."

## ARTICLE II.

### Objects.

Its objects shall be:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

## ARTICLE III.

### Members.

Section 1. Members shall be of three classes, Active, Corresponding, and Honorary. Active members only shall have a voice in the management of the Society.

Section 2. All persons interested in American history shall be eligible for Active membership.

Section 3. Persons residing outside of the State of New York, interested in historical investigation, may be made Corresponding members.

Section 4. Persons who have attained distinguished eminence as historians may be made Honorary members.

## ARTICLE IV.

### Management.

Section 1. The property of the Association shall be vested in, and the affairs of the Association conducted by, a Board of Trustees to be elected by the Association. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall

be filled by the remaining members of the Board, the appointee to hold office until the next annual meeting of the Association.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall have power to suspend or expel members of the Association for cause, and to restore them to membership after suspension or expulsion. No member shall be suspended or expelled without first having been given ample opportunity to be heard in his or her own defense.

Section 3. The first Board of Trustees shall consist of those designated in the Articles of Incorporation, who shall meet as soon as may be after the adoption of this Constitution and divide themselves into three classes of, as nearly as may be, eight members each, such classes to serve respectively, one until the first annual meeting, another until the second annual meeting, and the third until the third annual meeting of the Association. At each annual meeting the Association shall elect eight or nine members (as the case may be) to serve as Trustees for the ensuing three years, to fill the places of the class whose term then expires.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall have no power to bind the Association to any expenditure of money beyond the actual resources of the Association, except by the consent of the Board of Trustees, expressed in writing and signed by every member thereof.

## ARTICLE V.

### Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and an Assistant Secretary, all of whom shall be elected by the Board of Trustees from its own number, at its first meeting after the annual meeting of the Association, and shall hold office for one year, or until their successors are chosen. Temporary officers shall be chosen by the Incorporators to act until an election as aforesaid, by the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees may appoint such other officers, committees, or agents, and delegate to them such powers as it sees fit, for the prosecution of its work.

Section 3. Vacancies in any office or committee may be filled by the Board of Trustees.

## ARTICLE VI.

### Fees and Dues.

Section 1. Each person on being elected to Active Membership shall pay into the Treasury of the Association the sum of two dollars, and thereafter on the first day of January in each year a like sum, for his or her annual dues.

Section 2. Any member of the Association may commute his or her annual dues by the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time, and thereby become a life member, exempt from further payments.

Section 3. Any member may secure membership which shall descend to a member of his or her family qualified under the Constitution and By-laws of the Association for membership therein, in perpetuity, by the payment at one time of two hundred and fifty dollars. The person to hold the membership may be designated in writing by the creator of such membership, or by the subsequent holder thereof subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

Section 4. All receipts from life and perpetual memberships shall be set aside and invested as a special fund, the income only to be used for current expenses.

Section 5. Honorary and Corresponding Members and persons who hold Perpetual Memberships shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Section 6. The Board of Trustees shall have power to excuse the non-payment of dues, and to suspend or expel members for non-payment when their dues remain unpaid for more than six months.

## ARTICLE VII.

### Meetings.

Section 1. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on the last Tuesday of July in each year. Notice thereof shall be sent to each member at least ten days prior thereto.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Association may be called at any time by the Board of Trustees, and must be called upon the written request of ten members. The notice of such meeting shall specify the object thereof, and no business shall be transacted thereat excepting that designated in the notice.

Section 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Association.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall arrange for the holding of a series of meetings at Lake George during the summer months, for the reading of original papers on history and kindred subjects, and for social intercourse between the members and their guests.

## ARTICLE VIII.

### Seal.

The seal of the Association shall be a group of statuary representing the Mohawk Chief, King Hendrick, in the act of proving to Gen. Wm. Johnson the unwisdom of dividing his forces on the eve of the battle of Lake George. Around this a circular band bearing the legend, New York State Historical Association, 1899.

## ARTICLE IX.

### Amendments.

Amendments to the Constitution may be made at any annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose. Notice of a proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least thirty days before the day upon which action is taken thereon.

The adoption of an amendment shall require the favorable vote of two-thirds of those present at a duly constituted meeting of the Association.

# BY-LAWS.

## ARTICLE I.

### Members.

Candidates for membership in the Association shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and shall be elected by the Board of Trustees. Three adverse votes shall defeat an election.

## ARTICLE II.

### Board of Trustees.

Section 1. The Board of Trustees may make such rules for its own government as it may deem wise, and which shall not be inconsistent with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association. Five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall elect one of their own number to preside at the meetings of the Board in the absence of the President.

Section 3. The Board of Trustees shall at each annual meeting of the Association render a full report of its proceedings during the year last past.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall hold at least four meetings in each year. At each of such meetings it shall consider and act upon the names of candidates proposed for membership.

Section 5. The Board of Managers shall each year appoint committees to take charge of the annual gathering of the Association at Lake George.

## ARTICLE III.

### President.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and perform such other duties as may be delegated to him by the Association or the Board of Trustees. He shall be ex-officio a member of all committees.

## ARTICLE IV.

### Vice-Presidents.

The Vice-Presidents shall be denominated first, second and third Vice-Presidents. In the absence of the President his duties shall devolve upon the senior Vice-President present.

## ARTICLE V.

### Treasurer.

Section 1. The Treasurer shall have charge of all the funds of the Association. He shall keep accurate books of account, which shall at all times be open to the inspection of the Board of Trustees. He shall present a full and comprehensive statement of the Association's financial condition, its receipts and expenditures, at each annual meeting, and shall present a brief statement to the Board of Trustees at each meeting. He shall pay out money only on the approval of the majority of the Executive Committee, or on the resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. Before assuming the duties of his office, the Treasurer-elect shall with a surety to be approved by the Board execute to the Association his bond in the sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful performance of his duties as Treasurer.

Section 3. The President shall, thirty days prior to the annual meeting of the Association, appoint two members of the Association who shall examine the books and vouchers of the Treasurer and audit his accounts, and present their report to the Association at its annual meeting.

## ARTICLE VI.

### Secretary.

The Secretary shall preserve accurate minutes of the transactions of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and shall conduct the correspondence of the Association. He shall notify the members of meetings, and perform such other duties as he may be directed to perform by the Association or by the Board of Trustees. He may delegate any portion of his duties to the Assistant Secretary.

## ARTICLE VII.

### Executive Committee.

The officers of the Association shall constitute an Executive Committee. Such Committee shall direct the business of the Association between meetings of the Board of Trustees, but shall have no power

to establish or declare a policy for the Association, or to bind it in any way except in relation to routine work. The Committee shall have no power to direct a greater expenditure than fifty dollars without the authority of the Board of Trustees.

## ARTICLE VIII.

### Procedure.

Section 1. The following, except when otherwise ordered by the Association, shall be the order of buiness at the annual meetings of the Association:

Call to order.

Reading of minutes of previous annual, and of any special meeting, and action thereon.

Reports of Officers and Board of Trustees.

Reports of Standing Committees.

Reports of Special Committees.

Unfinished business.

Election.

New business.

Adjournment.

Section 2. The procedure at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, where not provided for in this Constitution and By-Laws, shall be governed by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Section 3. The previous question shall not be put to vote at any meeting unless seconded by at least three members.

Section 4. All elections shall be by ballot, except where only one candidate is nominated for an office.

Section 5. All notices shall be sent personally or by mail to the address designated in writing by the member to the Secretary.

## ARTICLE IX.

### Nominating Committee.

A committee of three shall be chosen by the Association at its annual meeting, to nominate Trustees to be voted for at the next annual meeting. Such Committee shall file its report with the Secretary of this Association at least thirty days prior to the next annual meeting. The Secretary shall mail a copy of such report to every member of the Association with the notice of the annual meeting at which the report is to be acted upon. The action of such Committee shall, however, in no wise interfere with the power of the Association to make its own nominations, but all such independent nominations shall be sent to the Secretary at least twenty days prior to the annual meeting. A copy thereof shall be sent to each member by the Secre-

tary with the notice of meeting, and shall be headed "Independent Nominations." If the Nominating Committee fail for any reason to make its report so that it may be sent out with the notice of the annual meeting, the Society may make its own nominations at such annual meeting.

## ARTICLE X.

### Amendments.

These By-Laws may be amended at any duly constituted meeting of the Association by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Notice of the proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least twenty days before the day upon which action thereon is taken.

# PROCEEDINGS AT ANNUAL MEETING.

THE New York State Historical Association held its second annual meeting at the Fort William Henry Hotel, Lake George, on Tuesday, July 31, 1900.

The meeting opened with a literary symposium illustrating the battle fought at Lake George in September, 1775, between the English and Americans under General, afterwards Sir William Johnson, and the French and Indians under Baron Dieskau. Monographs were read by James A. Holden, A. M., on Colonel Ephraim Williams (killed in the battle, and who founded Williams College); on King Hendrick, the Mohawk Indian Chief, by Colonel William L. Stone; on Major-General Phineas Lyman, by Rev. William O. Stearns; on Baron Dieskau, by Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, and on General Sir William Johnson, by Hon. Hugh Hastings, State Historian.

At the afternoon session a most interesting address was delivered by Hon. James A. Roberts upon the work of the organization, and Prof. John Bach McMaster, of the University of Pennsylvania, spoke on "A Century of Struggle for the Rights of Man."

Under a resolution duly passed the report of the Secretary and the papers read during the day were ordered to be printed.

# REPORT OF SECRETARY.

IT may not be uninteresting to review in a few words the origin of this organization. In the summer of 1898, Mr. Elwyn Seelye, influenced by a growing sentiment for the preservation of the many historic features about the Lake George region and by the proposal of the Society of Colonial Wars to erect a monument to commemorate the Battle of Lake George, a site for which had recently been purchased by the State, called a few gentlemen together at the Fort William Henry Hotel to consider the formation of an historical society. The project was well received, other meetings were held, the scope of the movement enlarged, and a State society determined upon. Articles of incorporation were prepared, and, after the approval of the Supreme Court, filed in the offices of the clerk of Warren county and of the Secretary of State. Later a charter was obtained from the Regents of the State University. Trustees were selected to give the widest influence to the association as a State organization, while the headquarters were established at Caldwell as the best location for a museum which should appeal to local pride.

Officers were chosen and entered upon their duties. The few months prior to the first annual meeting were devoted to organization. During the past year the principal work of the Association has been to urge the passage of an act of the Legislature for the purchase of an important part of the historic ground upon which the Battle of Lake George took place. We have had in this effort the active co-operation of the Society of Colonial Wars, of Mr. Charles H. Hitchcock, the very able representative of Warren county in the Assembly, and in addition to many others, of United States Senator Thomas C. Platt, Senator Higgins, Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff, and Hon. W. J. Morgan, the State Comptroller. The act passed, the Comptroller took prompt measures to complete the purchase of the property. There is a little more land which ought to be added,

and then a fireproof building should be erected to house the relics which abound in this historic region, and which their owners would be glad to have lodged in a place where the public might enjoy and profit by them, and where they would be safe from the elements, and at the same time near at hand.

Col. William L. Stone has generously offered his valuable collection, the result of years of delving and accumulation, not as a loan, but as a gift, to be delivered as soon as our Association has a safe place to exhibit it. Other donations are proffered.

The early history of Lake George is in a measure the key to the subsequent development of the State, and it is here, where the history was made, that it should be objectively taught.

Our Association has been formed none too soon to gather up the legends and traditions of Lake George to be illustrated by an abundant collection of relics.

On the 14th day of June a reception was tendered by this Association to the Societies of Colonial Wars, and Sons of the Revolution, when, en route from Ticonderoga, they stopped at Caldwell to dedicate the site of the monument to be erected by the Society of Colonial Wars to commemorate the Battle of Lake George. Our Association was well represented by Dr. Farr, its senior Vice-President, who welcomed the guests in the unavoidable absence of the President. It was an occasion of much interest.

Our library has made some progress during the year. The Hon. Jacob Ruppert, Jr., member of Congress from New York city, generously presented us with a set of the Messages of the Presidents of the United States, in ten volumes, edited by Hon. James D. Richardson. Hon. Hugh Hastings, State Historian, has kindly given us copies of his own valuable contributions to the history of the State. In addition the Association has been the recipient of the sumptuous Year Book of the Sons of the Revolution, the Year Book of the Society of Colonial Wars, and various publications of the Yonkers Historical and Library Association, the Society of Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the Cincinnati, the Order of Foreign Wars, and other societies.

We urge upon our members the importance of beginning

at once to gather an historical library, so that when we obtain our building we may have a substantial contribution ready for it.

The Secretary's report will not be quite complete without a brief necrological list.

First of all: our much esteemed Vice-President, Mr. Robert C. Alexander, succumbed to disease after a lingering illness, on the 1st of November, 1899. A year ago he wrote regretting his inability to attend our first annual meeting, as he sailed that day for Carlsbad, by the advice of his physician, in the hope of regaining his health. He returned in the fall and at once sought his beloved Lake George.

Mr. Alexander was born in West Charlton, New York, in 1857. He was graduated at Union College in 1880, with high honors, and was valedictorian of his class. A couple of years later he was admitted to the bar in New York and entered the office of Elliott F. Shepard. When Col. Shepard purchased the Mail and Express Mr. Alexander gradually withdrew from active legal work and assumed a prominent part in the conduct of the newspaper. Soon after Col. Shepard's death Mr. Alexander and Mr. R. E. A. Dorr became the owners of the Mail and Express. Its subsequent success was the result of Mr. Alexander's unceasing labors. He was a writer of great force and ability, with a keen insight into human nature. He had great executive and business ability, and was withal a Christian gentleman.

---

Charles Stone, recently elected a trustee of the New York State Historical Association, died at his home in New York city, after a few weeks' illness, on the 9th day of April, 1900. Born in Washington county, New York, in 1829, in the farmhouse of his parents, Charles and Abigail Stone, his boyhood was spent at Eddyville and Kingston, where he enjoyed such educational advantages as the common schools of that time afforded. At the age of twenty he joined a procession of resolute young adventurers who sought wealth in California. After ten successful years there he engaged in the lumber business in Michigan, and by judicious investments and keen attention

to business, acquired a large fortune, retiring from active work in 1873 and taking up his residence at Sandy Hill, later purchasing a winter home in New York. For some years he has been President of the People's Bank at Sandy Hill. His leisure was shared and brightened by the society of his accomplished wife whose death antedated his by only a few months. Tall and imposing in figure, with great dignity of manner, he had withal a genial and generous nature. He was a large contributor to the Baptist church with which he was affiliated. One of his last acts was the gift of a monument to the soldiers of the war with the South.

---

Mrs. Charles Stone died in September, 1899. Abigail Z. Stone, the daughter of Ebenezer Seeley and Amy Harrington, was born at Hartland, Niagara county. She was educated at various local academies and, in 1855, married Charles Stone of Sandy Hill. Of sturdy Revolutionary stock, she was a woman of strong patriotic feeling, and was much interested in local history. With a naturally gifted mind, extensive travel had produced a broad culture. Of a generous and kindly disposition, Mrs. Stone died beloved by all who knew her.

---

Abraham Lansing was born in the city of Albany, in 1835. He came of a long line of distinguished ancestors who had served well their country and State.

Admitted to the bar in 1855, Mr. Lansing soon attained a high position among the lawyers of the State. His sterling qualities won for him many positions of trust and responsibility. He was at various times City Attorney, Corporation Counsel, State Treasurer, Supreme Court Reporter and State Senator. In all of these various offices Mr. Lansing acquitted himself with satisfaction to the public, and with credit to himself. He was zealously interested in the welfare of the city of Albany and its institutions. His services and counsel were sought for by its civic, business and benevolent organizations and societies, and he became a respected member of many boards. He was the senior director of the Commercial Bank, a trustee of the

Albany Savings Bank, the Albany Academy, the Medical College, the Rural Cemetery, the Dudley Observatory, a governor of the Albany Hospital, and a member of the Board of Park Commissioners. Distinguished in appearance, erect in carriage, with affable manners, always kind and cordial, Mr. Lansing was an interesting and companionable man. A lover of letters and books, he found diversion from the dry pursuits of the law in the pleasures of literature and society. He was a member of the New York State Historical Association, Holland Society, University Club and Bar Association of New York city, of the Fort Orange Club, and of many other societies and clubs. He married a granddaughter of Gen. Peter Ganse-voort. Mr. Lansing died at his home in Albany, October 4, 1899.

---

Frederick G. Lupien, of Glens Falls, died on the 26th day of March, 1900, aged thirty-nine years. He was a self-made man, rising by his own unaided efforts to a position of prominence and importance in the community where he made his home. He became a member of the Star Publishing Company in 1887, and added much to its success by his persistent and untiring efforts. He was a man of exemplary character and deservedly popular.

---

Mr. Justice Putnam died in October, 1899, on a voyage to Manila to visit his son, Lieutenant Israel Putnam, U. S. A., who was in the service there.

John Rizley Putnam was born at the old family homestead at Saratoga Springs, New York, and was the son of Benjamin Rizley Putnam and Eunice Morgan. He was lineally descended from John Putnam, an English Puritan who settled at Danvers, Massachusetts, in 1634. Justice Putnam's grandfather, Gideon Putnam, the son of Rufus Putnam and Mary Putnam of Dunelton, Massachusetts. Gideon Putnam was a cousin of General Israel Putnam, and is described as a man of "strong nerve, of comprehensive powers of invention, an indomitable will, the creator and organizer of the beautiful vil-

lage of Saratoga Springs." Benjamin Rizley Putnam, the oldest son of Gideon, was born at Rutland, Vermont, but passed his life at Saratoga, where he was active in the progress of the village. He married Eunice, a daughter of Daniel Morgan, a cousin of the hero of "The Cowpens." John Rizley Putnam was their youngest son. He received an academic education at Saratoga Springs, studied law with the Hon. Charles S. Lester, and was admitted to the bar in 1855; he practiced his profession in his native place, soon acquiring a large and lucrative business. His unceasing diligence and sturdy integrity won the unlimited confidence of the community, and to him was confided the guardianship of many large estates, and the protecting care of widows and children, and for them his patience, kindness and painstaking labor was unfailing; he was also engaged in many of the important litigations of the State. Though decided in his political opinions, he was averse to office, his ambition being entirely in the line of his profession. It is not surprising that one whose unobtrusive devotion to the law had inspired the confidence and respect of his contemporaries should have been chosen by both the Republican and Democratic parties as a nominee, in 1887, for Justice of the Supreme Court; a position for which Mr. Putnam was eminently fitted by the calm and judicial character of his mind. In 1891 he was appointed to the General Term of the Third Department, and later one of the Justices of the Appellate Division.

In 1867 Judge Putnam was married to Mary Steiner, daughter of R. M. Shoemaker, one of the prominent railroad magnates of Ohio, who was a descendant of Robert Myer Shoemaker, one of the patentees of Herkimer county, and a relative of General Herkimer.

---

In conclusion let me urge upon our members the desirability of making diligent effort to increase our membership. The annual dues have been purposely made small so that everyone interested may be able to associate himself or herself with the work of the Society. There is much to be done, and funds are necessary as well as co-operation.

MORRIS PATTERSON FERRIS,
*Secretary.*

# INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT.

Hon. JAMES A. ROBERTS.

ON this the first public session of our Society, it would seem fitting that we present, not like Colley Cibber, an Apology for our Life, but some reason which seems to justify our existence.

To the student of politics and morals it is always discouraging to observe how slowly the lessons of history become a part of the life and settled thought of a people. This fact was never brought home to me more impressively than in reading the vivid description of the theories and feelings of our own people during the panic which followed the War of 1812, as related by Prof. McMaster, and comparing them with theories and feelings which have had large influence in the panic and depression through which we have so recently passed. In both these were the same desire for an enlarged and depreciated currency, the same senseless cry against moneyed men, institutions and centers, and the same disposition to enact legislation to hinder and delay the collection of debts. The difference was in degree, not in kind. Theorists had advanced in three-quarters of a century from the free and unlimited issue of fiat paper money to the free and unlimited coinage of a metal worth one-half its marked value; i. e., had gone half way to economic truth and honesty; and the legislation to hinder the collection of debts was limited in its scope and territory. As a business man my interest in this last panic was more than academic, and I found the study of our panics intensely interesting. In the panics of 1837, 1857 and 1873, the same questions, modified somewhat in form, have raised predominant issues. While it is discouraging to think that the same "false doctrines, heresies and schisms" should appear in five successive periods of financial depression, disappearing absolutely when prosperity waves her magic wand, yet

there is encouragement in noting progress toward truth, and augury of a time when we cannot conscientiously be demagogic or dishonest in the fundamental ideas that control business. The difficulty of crystallizing historical lessons into vital convictions and acts calls for the work of earnest men and women to collect, to distribute, and to impress these lessons.

To no State in our Union can the student turn with greater assurance of learning useful lessons, than to our own imperial Commonwealth. Rich in men who have thought noble thoughts and done noble deeds, yet fruitful in mistakes, justly distinguished for philanthropic and patriotic endeavor, yet permitting internal civil abuses which cry to heaven for redress, the first in industrial and commercial development, the history of New York cannot fail to be full of the most important lessons. Within the borders of our Commonwealth are a number of local historical societies that have done most excellent and valuable work in collecting and preserving the events and relics of their respective localities. Our purpose was the more ambitious, perhaps presumptuous, one to do for the State to some extent what these local societies have done so well for their communities; to be the connecting link between them; to collect and preserve everything of interest relating to our State history (and that necessarily involves all relations of our State with the general government). We do not purpose to interfere with, but rather encourage, the work of our local societies. Our aim, rather, will be to expand local work; to show its bearing on the State or the Nation; to collect and preserve all that we can which will illustrate not only the patriotic efforts of our Commonwealth, but also her advance in arts and sciences, her change in customs, thought and beliefs. While we cannot expect to cover thoroughly so wide a field, yet we feel sure that by concerted effort we can add something of interest and value to history and hand down some things worthy of remembrance.

If we ignore increase in population, wealth, arts, industries and commerce, and confine our attention to the military deeds within our borders, the field is still broad enough to satisfy the most ambitious. The very air which we now breathe has time and again echoed with the savage cries of the Algonquin and the Iroquois as they contended for supremacy; it has resounded with the martial tread of the English and the French as they

struggled for the possession of a continent; it saw the hosts of redcoats as they marched down to the valley below in a fruitless endeavor to fasten despotism upon a free and spirited people. The very ground on which we stand is almost sacred with historic reminiscence.

Few of our citizens, I think, realize how nobly New York has responded to the calls of patriotism. In the War of the American Revolution, of 309,781 troops, New York furnished upwards of 43,000, or 1/7; in the War of 1812, she furnished 62,500, or nearly 1/9 of the 576,622 men who participated in that contest; and in the War of the Rebellion she sent into the field 448,850, or nearly 1/6 of the 2,778,304 who took part in that war. But in the first two of these struggles, New York more than any other State was the battle-ground. The first fortifications captured in the American Revolution were Ticonderoga and Crown Point; the first attempt to construct an American navy was on Lake Champlain. It was through this section of our State that the first expedition into Canada passed. It was on our soil that the battles of Long Island, Harlem Heights, White Plains, Bennington, Oriskany and Saratoga were fought. Mad Anthony's capture of Stony Point, the various raids through our valleys led by Johnson, Brant, Butler and Cornplanter, the Indian massacres, the great expedition against the Indians led by General Sullivan, Sir Henry Clinton's destructive expeditions up the Hudson, are only some of the more important events which took place on our soil during the struggle for independence. The very recital of these events and figures in one department of study, shows the magnitude of our proposed field of labor.

I think it can be very well said that New York lacked the skilful chroniclers of her events which New England possessed. In the Colonial period and in the early days of the republic, the people of New York were very busily engaged "laying the dark foundations deep" of that industrial and commercial supremacy which she has since so fully attained, not only by developing and seeking the opportunity, but by cultivating the habit and spirit. In the mind absorbed by business, a capacity for literary work is seldom found. In New England, on the contrary, from the very beginning there was a distinct scholarly and literary

class, who were not satisfied, after some stirring event had passed, to hasten return to counting-room, farm or factory, as the New Yorker did, but whose exultation or indignation found expression at once in a fitting written memorial. These descriptions and memorials passed into the literature and life of the whole country. What school-boy has ever learned that the first steps to colonial union, and therefore to successful resistance, were taken in New York, and yet how familiar every school-boy is with every step taken by Massachusetts in opposition to the Stamp Act? What school-boy ever remembers the battle of Oriskany, except as one of the minor engagements of the Revolutionary War, or knows that here the patriots fought as men have seldom fought before or since? "They fled only from the word of dishonor, but on the battle-field their feet stood fast." What school-boy knows that in its percentages of loss, this battle was the bloodiest of the war, and in its important results was almost second to none? Had St. Leger not been stopped, had he been able to push his way down through the Mohawk Valley to a junction with Burgoyne, thus opening to their joint armies the valley's food supplies, the page of American history might have been sadly changed. And yet every school-boy knows in its minutest detail the history of the battle of Bunker Hill. It is for the reason that no contemporary Froissart adequately described our events that our work as a State society is all the more important and necessary.

I have thus briefly stated some of the reasons for our existence. We do not expect to cover our field thoroughly, but we trust we shall add something to the knowledge of past events, some things that shall help to place right our beloved Commonwealth and perhaps contribute somewhat to interest in historical study. If we do this, we shall not have existed in vain.

# KING HENDRICK.

Colonel WILLIAM L. STONE.

ALTHOUGH this truly great Sachem has been called a *Mohawk*, yet his family was *Mohegan*, and he, himself, only a *Mohawk* by adoption. According to his own statement his father lived in the first years of his (Hendrick's) life at Westfield, in Connecticut. The exact time of his birth is not known, though it is believed to have been between the years 1680 and 1690. Equally difficult is it to ascertain at what time he moved into the Mohawk Valley. His usual residence, however, during the latter portion of his life was in the present town of Meriden, in Herkimer county, N. Y., and near the Upper or Canojoharie Castle. The site of his house is described by Dr. Dwight in his "Travels" as being a "handsome elevation, commanding a considerable prospect of the neighboring country." Although participating in many treaties and conferences between the English and the Six Nations — in which he did valiant work for both parties — yet his most famous speech was the one he delivered at the celebrated Congress at Albany, on the 19th of June, 1754, called for the purpose both of treating with the Six Nations and uniting upon a plan of union for resisting the common enemy — *i. e.*, the French.

The first few days of the Congress were occupied by the Commissioners (among whom were Benjamin Franklin, James de Lancey and Col. William — afterwards Sir William — Johnson) in consulting upon the principal topics to be presented to the Indians, and in listening to several chiefs of the lesser castles in relation to the fraudulent surveys of their lands. In his opening speech Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey said: "We came to strengthen and brighten the chain of friendship, and," continued he, at the same time handing Hendrick the chain belt, "this chain hath remained firm and unbroken from the beginning." The scattered manner, in which, departing

from their ancient customs, the Confederates (the Six Nations) for the last few years had lived, was then adverted to, and they were especially urged to live together in their castles. "The French," he continued, "are endeavoring to possess themselves of the whole country, although they may have made the most express treaties with the English to the contrary." "Therefore," the speaker concluded, "open your hearts to us, and deal with us as brethren."

Three days afterward, the Lieutenant-Governor, attended by all the Commissioners, met the Indians to hear their reply. As soon as they were seated, the Sachems of the Six Nations, glittering with ornaments and clothed in their richest robes and feathers, came in and seated themselves with all the pomp of Indian ceremonial. Then, amid a deep silence, Abraham, a Sachem of the Upper Castle of the Mohawks, and a brother of King Hendrick, rose and said: "Brethren, you, the Governor of New York, and the Commissioners of the other Governments, are you ready to hear us?" The Governor, having replied in the affirmative, King Hendrick, venerable in years, rose and with all the dignity which his white hairs and majestic mien gave him, holding up the chain belt to the gaze of all, advanced a few steps and thus spoke:

"Brethren: We return you all our grateful acknowledgments for renewing and brightening the covenant chain. This chain belt is of very great importance to our united nations, and to all our allies. We will, therefore, take it to Onondaga, where our council-fire always burns, and keep it so securely that neither thunder nor lightning shall break it. There we will consult over it, and, as we have already added two links to it, so we will use our endeavors to add as many more links to it, as lies in our power.[1] In the meantime, we desire that you will strengthen yourselves, and bring as many into this covenant chain as you possibly can.

"Brethren: As to the accounts you have heard of our living dispersed from each other 'tis very true. We have several times endeavored to draw off these, our brethren, who were settled at

---

[1] This allusion is to two small Indian tribes which the Six Nations had lately taken into the Confederacy.

Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg) but in vain, for the Governor of Canada is like a wicked, deluding spirit. However, as you desire, we shall persist in our endeavors." Then, burning with indignation, as he recalled the long neglect with which his services had been rewarded by the English — his eyes flashing, and his whole frame quivering with the honest anger which had so long been pent up within him — he exclaimed, "You have asked us the reason of our living in this dispersed manner. The reason is *your neglecting us for three years past.*" Then, taking a stick and throwing it behind him, "You have thus thrown us behind your backs and disregarded us; whereas, the French are a subtile and vigilant people, ever using their utmost endeavors to reduce and bring our people over to them." * * *

"This is the ancient place of treaty where the fire of friendship always used to burn; and 'tis near three years since we have been called to any treaty here. 'Tis true these Commissioners are here, but they have never invited us to smoke with them. (That is, have never invited us to any conference.) But the Indians of Canada come frequently and smoke here, which is for the sake of their beaver. But we hate them. We have not as yet confirmed the peace with them. 'Tis your fault, Brethren, that we are not strengthened by conquest; for we would have gone and taken Crown Point, but you hindered us. We had concluded to go and take it, but we were told that it was too late and that the ice would not bear us. Instead of this, you burnt your own fort at Saratoga, and ran away from it, which was a shame and a scandal to you!" Then, again kindling as he thought of the shameful remissness which had left their own castles defenceless, he concluded his philippic in the same scathing language: "Look about your country and see; you have no fortifications about you; no, not even to this city. Look at the French; *they are men;* they are fortifying everywhere. But, we are ashamed to say it, you are all like *women*, bare and open, without any fortifications."

Thus closed one of the most eloquent speeches ever uttered. A speech which, for its truth, vigor, and biting sarcasm, has never been equaled by any Indian orator — scarcely excelled by one of any other race — and which, "containing strains of eloquence which might have done honor to Tully or Demos-

thenes,"[2] will ever stand among the finest passages of rhetoric in either ancient or modern history.[3]

We now come to Hendrick's connection with the expedition of General Johnson in 1755 against Crown Point — one of the three expeditions planned at Alexandria by the royal governors against the French. The details of Johnson's campaign and his engagement we here omit, as doubtless they will be treated at this meeting by others *in extenso*. Suffice it to say, that after Johnson had entrenched himself at the head of Lake George and was preparing to meet the army of Dieskau, he learned through his scouts that the French general was on the march to attack his camp. Accordingly, early on the morning of the eighth of September, a council of war was called in which it was the general opinion of both officers and Indians that a detachment of 1,000 troops and 200 Indians should be sent out in aid of Fort Edward "to catch the enemy in their retreat, either as victors or as defeated in their design." Hendrick, alone, disapproved of the number. "If," said that sage counsellor, "they are to fight they are too few; if they are to be killed they are too many;" and again, when it was proposed to send out the detachment in three parties, the Mohawk Chieftain, picking up three sticks from the ground, said: "Put these together and you cannot break them; take them one by one, and you will do it easily." His advice, however, on both points was disregarded, and the Provincials, under the gallant Col. Ephraim Williams, and the Confederate warriors led by the venerable

---

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, referring to this speech.

[3] This is not empty panegyric. In a manuscript letter now before me written by Governor Shirley to Hendrick, through Colonel Johnson, Governor Shirley expresses himself in terms of the warmest admiration for Hendrick, both as an orator and as a man, thanks him for his speech at Albany, and promises to recommend him to his Majesty as the warm friend and fast ally of the English. Governor Livingston, alluding to this speech, also speaks of Hendrick as a "consummate orator." *Vide Life of Livingston, by Sedgwick*, page 98.

Indeed, Hendrick's speech on this occasion, excited at the time universal attention, both in America and in England. In reference to it, a journalist of that day says: "For capacity, bravery, right of mind and immovable integrity combined, he excelled all the aboriginal inhabitants of which we have any knowledge."

Mohawk brave, set out without delay in three divisions, and marched toward the fort, where it was supposed the enemy would be found. As soon as they left the camp, Johnson had some trees felled to form, with the wagons and *batteaux*, a rude breastwork, and at the same time, some heavy cannon, destined for the attack on Crown Point, were drawn up from the shore of the lake and posted in advantageous positions.

Meanwhile, Dieskau, advised through his Indian scouts of the advance of Colonel Williams, arranged in a defile near at hand an ambuscade in the shape of a crescent; the regulars being stationed in the centre, and the Canadians and Indians on either side, where they were concealed on the right by thickets, and on the left by rocks and trees.

Colonel Williams advanced with his division to Rocky Brook, about two miles from the camp, and halted until he should be overtaken by Lieutenant Whiting and Hendrick, with the rest of the party. As soon as they came up, the Colonel, singularly unsuspicious of danger, and neglecting his usual precaution of throwing ahead skirmishers, gave the order to advance, and the entire column, preceded by Hendrick and his warriors, marched briskly forward and entered the fatal defile. It had been the express orders of Dieskau that his men should reserve their fire until the English were entirely within the half-circle. Fortunately, however, before the detachment were wholly within the ambush, one of Dieskau's Iroquois, relenting, fired a musket purposely to warn the Mohawks, under Hendrick, of their danger. Instantly, terrific yells and rattling of musketry filled the air, as volley after volley was poured with murderous effect upon the left of Williams' column, and upon the Indians in front. Hendrick, who was in advance of his braves, and who, being corpulent and mounted on horseback, formed a conspicuous mark for the enemy's bullets, fell dead at the first fire. Colonel Williams was also killed in the early part of the action, being shot through the head as he was standing upon a huge boulder which he had mounted the better to direct the movements of his men. A hurried retreat of the Provincials now followed, with the enemy close on their heels, alternately yelling and firing. Reaching a small pond near the road, a portion of the Provincials rallied, and, stationing themselves behind it, each

man for himself, checked the pursuit until the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, whom Johnson, as soon as he heard the firing, had sent out with 300 men to cover the retreat. Under the guidance of Whiting and Cole this was successfully effected, and the party, which a little while before had gone forth confident in their strength, clambered over the barricades of Johnson's camp, weary and dejected. An account of the subsequent defeat of Dieskau by the English general, a few hours afterward, is, for the reasons given above, here omitted.

Hendrick was quite a lion in his day, and his spirit and martial powers were upon every tongue. He was also esteemed "the bravest of the brave among the Iroquois." He led many war-parties against the Canadian frontier in the old French and Indian wars, and his staunch friendship for Sir William Johnson caused him to use his great influence to keep the Six Nations, especially the Mohawks, faithful to their covenants. Indeed, many times, had it not been for his efforts, the entire Confederacy of the Six Nations would have probably broken through all restraint and gone over to the French. He died lamented by many, and by no one more than by Sir William Johnson. The late Judge Campbell (by the way, a very old, staunch and intimate friend of my father) in his *Annals of Tryon County*, has preserved the following anecdote illustrative of the friendship that the great Mohawk was capable of inspiring in the hearts of the whites towards himself: "During some of the negotiations with the Indians of Pennsylvania, and the inhabitants of that State, Hendrick was present at Philadelphia. His likeness was taken, and a wax figure afterward made which was a very good imitation. After the death of Hendrick, an old friend, a white man, visited Philadelphia, and, among other things, was shown this wax figure. It occupied a niche, and was not observed by him until he had approached within a few feet. The friendship of former days came fresh over his memory, and, forgetting for the moment Hendrick's death, he rushed forward and clasped the frail, icy image of the chieftain."

Mr. Schoolcraft, in his *Notes of the Iroquois*, also has this to say of Hendrick:

"There was a time in our settlement when there was a moral force in the name of King Hendrick and his Mohawks which

had an electric effect, and at the time he died, his loss was widely and deeply felt and lamented, even to Great Britain. It is said that he, on two occasions, visited his British sovereign. On one of these occasions, doubtless the last, which is conjectured to have been about the year 1740, his Majesty presented him with a rich suit of clothes — a green coat, set off with Brussels and gold lace, and a cocked hat, such as worn by the court gentry of that period. In these he sat for his portrait, which was executed by a London artist. From this portrait, which has no date, engravings were made of a large cabinet size, and colored in conformity with the original. I saw one of these engravings in the family of a relative in Schenectady, which has, however, been long since destroyed by fire, and recently I have seen another which had been for nearly a century the property of Jeremiah Lansing of Albany, N. Y. The prosolopogical indicia of his countenance denote a kind disposition, honesty of purpose, and an order of intellect much above mediocrity. Although his complexion was the shadowed livery of the burning sun, his figure and countenance were singularly prepossessing and commanding. The concurrent testimony of every traditionist awards to him great natural talents, judgment and sagacity. As a diplomatist and orator he was greatly distinguished, and divided the palm only with his brother Abraham, of pious memory, who was exclusively devoted to civil pursuits."

In conclusion, permit me to remark that it seems a great pity that no steps have yet been taken to mark with a handsome shaft the place where this great Mohegan fell. Certainly, it is due to his memory that this should be done — equally with the one that has already been erected to his brave companion-in-arms, the gallant and brave Colonel Williams. May we not, therefore, hope that soon either the "Colonial Dames" or the "Daughters of the American Revolution" will take this matter up and press it to a successful termination?

# SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Hon. HUGH HASTINGS.

IT was a wise man who said "a stroke of the pen can make a major-general; forty years are required to make an admiral."

Never was this axiom better proven than at the battle of Lake George, September 8, 1755. A competent general, a man endowed with the slightest faculty for handling troops in war, would have seized the opportunity that was here presented, and achieved a victory that would have placed his name high on the roll of great captains. But Sir William Johnson was not a soldier, far less a general. As a diplomatist, especially in dealing with savages — a proposition that required the most skilful manipulation, and an inherent knowledge of human nature rarely to be found — he stands without a peer in the history of the world.

When he was twenty years of age, his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, brought him from Ireland, and placed him in charge of his vast estates on the Mohawk. Here Johnson was given every opportunity to study the Indian character, the conditions under which he lived and the results of his associations with the whites. Quick in benefiting from the precepts and from the errors of others, Johnson soon understood the reasons for the hold and influence which the Dutch and the French exercised over the natives, and for the prejudice and hostility that the Indians entertained against the English. He determined to neutralize the influence of the French and to create a feeling of confidence for the English.

Every one of the three great powers that settled America maintained its own definitive and characteristic policy over the Indians — the French a purely religious, the Dutch a purely commercial, and the British a purely political. The French, by far, possessed the greatest influence, because, like the Dutch,

they sedulously kept their faith, but, unlike the Dutch, they bribed; and again, they largely won the loyalty, confidence and friendship of the red man through the Jesuit priests, those self-sacrificing and heroic religious pioneers, who faced death in a thousand different forms in order to convert the simple-minded child of the forest to Christianity by means of the attractive and beautiful ceremonies of the Church.

The peaceably disposed Dutch, who were the first to make heavy profits from the pelts which the savages brought to the borders of civilization, had always maintained the most harmonious relations with the Indians, for the reason that they conducted their commercial transactions on strict business principles, rarely resorted to deception, and were generally liberal, straightforward and honest. Like the French, the English believed in seducing the Indian with glittering bribes, but, unlike the French, they ignored the many little diplomatic tricks and devices that appealed to the guileless savage, and brutally broke faith whenever they found it expedient, or to their advantage to do so.

With the adaptability of his race, Johnson quickly established terms of the most amicable character and intimacy between himself and the Iroquois. He fully realized the low cunning and treachery of the Indians, but he manifested a sincere and energetic interest in their games and sports, learned their traditions, listened patiently to their complaints, acted as moderator in their disputes, invariably gave them sensible and disinterested advice, dressed as they dressed, greased and painted his face as one of them, accompanied their hunting parties, saved them from imposition, restrained them in their wild excesses, habitually treated them with honesty and justice, but with firmness, and, in every conceivable way, impressed upon them the conviction that they could entrust their happiness to him with perfect safety, and he would act as their safeguard.

For over an hundred years the British and French maintained a desultory warfare through their Indian sympathizers with no other object in view than conquest. France claimed, by right of discovery, all the territory contained within the watershed of the St. Lawrence, the great lakes and the Mississippi, including the land bordering upon their tributaries. Treaties of peace be-

tween the great powers could be made, in Europe, but the ambitious representatives of those powers in this country ignored treaties as a rule and cunningly enticed their Indian allies to commit depredations and wage hostilities against their common foe. Even in this respect the policy of the two nations was totally dissimilar. England pursued a policy strictly defensive, France enterprisingly aggressive. The war-parties of the latter darted from their fastnesses in the wilderness, fell upon the exposed frontiersman, whose family was scalped, or killed, or the women were carried off as prisoners to a life worse than death, or to be redeemed in Canada by their friends at an exorbitant ransom.

The frontier of New York, in particular, opened a rich field for these predatory war-parties from Canada. So frequent and successful were these raids that a line of forts was constructed from Schaghticoke, at the mouth of the Hoosac, up the Mohawk, to Oswego, and a small post was maintained at Saratoga, the present Schuylerville. Here, in November, 1745, thirty families were massacred by Indians and every dwelling was burned. The New York Legislature, which had favored a policy of peace toward the Indians, offered a ten-pound bounty for the scalp of every male Indian over sixteen years of age, five pounds for the scalp of every male under sixteen years; for every male Indian prisoner over the age of sixteen captured, a bounty of twenty pounds was offered, and ten pounds for those under sixteen. Johnson's reputation as a pacificator of Indians was at this time well established at home and abroad. Eight years after his arrival in this country, he had succeeded Colonel Peter Schuyler as Commissary of New York for Indian Affairs. Two years later he was commissioned as a colonel in the English army and placed in command of the Colonial forces of New York for the defence of the frontier. In May, 1750, the high distinction was conferred upon him of an appointment to a seat in his Majesty's Council. Three years later, by the restoration of the Albany Board of Indian Commissioners, a serious disagreement arose between the Mohawks and the authorities over a land transaction, the Indians, under the leadership of the great Hendrick, resenting what they regarded as unjust treatment. Several chiefs, including Hendrick, visited Albany, and the usual

speeches were made. Hendrick, whose friendship for the English had always been pronounced, threw terror into his white auditors at the close by the declaration: "So you are not to expect to hear of me any more and we desire to hear no more of you." The English understood that the "covenant chain" was at last broken. A panic nearly ensued in Albany. The situation was exceedingly grave, and there was only one man in the Province to meet it. All eyes turned toward Johnson, both branches of the Legislature expressing their utmost confidence in him. He had been adopted by the Mohawks, given an Indian name, was elected as a sachem and had marched to Albany at the head of his tribe, duly decorated with all the feathers, plumes, and garments, his face painted as became his rank.

July 4, 1753, the New York Legislature appropriated £620, £170 for presents for the Indians, the balance to defray the expenses of Johnson and his attendants. July 5th, Johnson repaired to Onondaga to the great Council House, where, after the customary ebullitions of oratory, the Indians yielded to the white man's eloquence, peace was restored and the hatchet was buried. Johnson returned to Albany, and declared his days as mediator between the Indians and the whites were ended.

The year 1755 was fraught with events of mighty consequence to Johnson. The encroachments of the French along the Ohio, in Pennsylvania and Virginia, in 1753–1754, together with the Indian outbreaks that were instigated by the French, along the New York and New England frontiers, brought about what is erroneously termed in history "The French and Indian War." From the signing of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the question of a new war between France and England was merely a matter of time. New York had been conspicuously liberal in her contributions for defense. November 25, 1748, New York appropriated £28,000 for the defense of her frontiers. August 29, 1754, New York appropriated £$5,000 to assist Virginia and Pennsylvania "to dispossess the enemy." February 19, 1755, £45,000 were appropriated to put the Colony into a "posture of defense." This generous sum was augmented May 3, by £10,000 to raise a regiment of 800 men, formed into eight companies; on July 5, by £10,000 more for the Crown Point expedition; £3,954 for an artillery train; £457

for Indian allies, and £50 each for the table of General William Johnson and several other officers. September 11, a further sum of £8,000 was voted for a reinforcement of 2,000 men for General Johnson.

Now that war was upon them, the Colonies found themselves in any but a satisfactory or united condition, so far as the conduct of that war was concerned. The English were directed by Governor Shirley, who laid out the plan of campaign in three expeditions; one against Fort du Quesne under Braddock, another against Fort Niagara under command of Shirley himself, the third against Crown Point, the command of which was assigned to Johnson.

How Johnson's part of the enterprise succeeded, in view of the politics practiced and the bad generalship displayed, must ever remain a source of astonishment. Several of the New England officers were expert Indian fighters, and had seen more or less service in the field. Shirley refused to appoint any one of them to supreme command, for fear of creating jealousies among the others. He, therefore, selected Johnson, who, though nominally a Colonel in the King's army and a local Major-General, had never exercised active command, even of a company of infantry, in the presence of the enemy.

Johnson has been severely criticised for the many delays that formed the most prominent part of his advance. But this policy was no doubt premeditated, as Johnson was awaiting the return of four runners whom he had dispatched to Canada to learn the plans of the enemy. Johnson's first serious mistake, however, appears in his failure to fortify or entrench his camp; he committed an atrocious military blunder in dividing his forces in the presence of the enemy, in throwing forward a detachment of 1,000 troops under Colonel Ephraim Williams and 200 Mohawks under the old and almost helpless Indian chief, Hendrick, to attack Dieskau, in what has come down to us as "The Bloody Morning Scout." The French, unduly elated by the crushing defeat they administered to the ambushed Provincials, pushed on to Johnson's main position, which had been put into a mild state of defense by a slight breastwork of logs that had been cut from the trees in front of the camp — Johnson having failed to take this simple military precaution

until he heard the infantry firing in the woods. The French regulars advanced in columns of platoons, their polished gun-barrels glittering in the bright sunlight like shafts of silver. Failing to make an impression on Johnson's centre, the French general groped along the front, as it were, first to the left, then to the right, in the vain hope of finding a vulnerable spot. His line of sturdy veterans was exposed to a withering fire, his Canadians and Indians were driven from their position, and the ammunition of the regulars began to run low. The order to retire was reluctantly given. The chance for the Provincials had come. Without waiting for orders, and with a cheer, they jumped over the breastworks, and charged impetuously upon the French, whose retreat degenerated into a rout. For four hours the triumphant English pursued the panic-stricken French and their demoralized red allies.

The losses on both sides had been severe. Old Chief Hendrick had gone to the happy hunting-ground, Colonel Williams was shot dead. Johnson early in the engagement was wounded in the thigh, but refused to leave the field, and turned the command over to the second in command, Colonel Lyman, who acquitted himself handsomely and deserved credit which Johnson ungenerously refrained from granting in his report of the affair. Dieskau was severally wounded, was nearly assassinated by the Mohawks, who were enraged over the death of Hendrick and their comrades, and, for the rest of his life, lost no opportunity to express his gratitude for the cordial, hospitable and graceful attentions Johnson bestowed, when he was taken a prisoner to the provincial general's tent. The total losses of the English were 262; of the French 225 to 250.

In the hands of an aggressive general, Johnson's victory would have been followed up by the destruction of Dieskau's commissary, quartermaster and ordnance stores at South Bay. Johnson had the men — the 500 who had been guarding the flanks as a good attacking force — but he was attacked with inertia and in consequence the full benefit of his victory was never reaped. The results of his battle, however, relieved the Province of New York from invasion, held off the attack on Oswego, and neutralized the disastrous effect of Braddock's defeat. To Johnson, personally, the victory brought wealth, fame

and unexpected honors. He had changed the name of the lake from " St. Sacrament " to " Lake George "—" not only in honor of his Majesty, but to assert his undoubted dominion there." As a reward for his distinguished services Johnson received the thanks of Parliament, a grant of £5,000, and on November 27, 1755, was created a baronet.

Unthinking people, swept away by the sympathy of the times in which they live, are apt to believe that nothing in our history can equal the appalling hardships, untold sufferings and exhausting experiences endured by our troops during the war between the States and later during the Spanish War, and now over in the Philippines. But where can be found a standard of devotion built upon a loftier, more unselfish and patriotic plane than that founded and maintained by the Colonists during their numerous contests with the French and Indians? They were part and parcel of a government, protective, it is true, but a government in whose management they were not permitted to participate; nor were they blessed with a perfectly equipped, easy running and liberally disposed army organization. They went to war, wearing the same clothing which they worked in in the fields, carried their own muskets, oftentimes were compelled to trust to Providence for food, and covered their distances on foot, whether in the blinding heat of summer or the freezing blasts of winter. The bewildering wilderness fighting during the war between the States, although on a larger scale, the jungle fighting in Cuba and the Philippines, called for no higher exhibition of manly exertion and effort and no higher degree of courage and bravery, than the straggling struggles in these trackless forests, through whose dense foliage the rays of the sun never penetrated and whose weird primeval solitude was only broken by the terrifying cry of the wolf and panther or the lonely chant of the whippoorwill.

# COLONEL EPHRAIM WILLIAMS.

JAMES AUSTIN HOLDEN, A. B.

FROM the decadent court of Louis XV. and La Pompadour, or the Hanoverian palace of George II. to this delightful spot, with its beautiful outlook of lake and sky and wood, seems a far cry; and yet, turning back the pages of history, we find the three points, like the intersections of some vast triangulation, forever connected in the chronicles of time with some of the world's important and stirring events.

Scarcely had the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle been concluded, than the ancient rivalry of France and England again displayed itself in the efforts of each country to colonize and extend its commerce in the different parts of the globe. The two nations found their respective interests in conflict in Africa, in India and in America, and a quarrel over boundary lines in this latter country precipitated a contest, known in Europe as the "Seven Years' War," and in America as the "French and Indian War." For two years before war was really declared, the French were building forts and strengthening their defenses along the Canadian and Ohio borders, and, openly where they could, by stealth where necessary, endeavoring to restrict the efforts of the English to advance, by actual occupation and settlement, their frontier lines.

At length, in 1754, the action of the French in preventing George Washington, then a Colonial officer, from building defenses, and in erecting their own Fort du Quesne at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, aroused the Colonies. A convention was called at Albany to which the Colonies sent delegates, and a conference looking forward to an alliance was also held with the Indians of the Six Nations. Measures for defense were agreed upon and plans of action concerted. "About this time a large body of troops was raised for the protection of the frontier," says Queensbury's historian,

Dr. Holden, "and Ephraim Williams was promoted to the rank of Major and placed in command."

In April, 1755, General Edward Braddock arrived from England and held a congress of Colonial governors at Alexandria. It was agreed not "to invade Canada, but to repel encroachments on the frontier." Governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperell were to act with Braddock in this campaign. Four expeditions were arranged for. To quote Bancroft, "Lawrence, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, was to reduce that Province; Johnson, afterwards Sir William Johnson of New York, from his long acquaintance with the Six Nations, was selected to enroll Mohawk warriors in British pay and lead them with Provincial militia against Crown Point; Shirley proposed to drive the French from Niagara; the Commander-in-Chief was to recover the Ohio valley." Of all these proposed expeditions the first only was successful. Shirley's was a "fizzle;" the terrible defeat of Braddock is familiar to all readers of history; while the expedition of Major-General William Johnson alone was of ultimate benefit to his Province and the country at large. His troops were composed mostly of Massachusetts and Connecticut militiamen or volunteers, with some companies from New York Province, raised principally in the territory near Albany, and a regiment from New Hampshire. After the usual delay caused by mobilizing and equipping, General Lyman, the second in command, set out with a part of the troops, boating up the Hudson and carrying around the portages until he reached the beginning of the "great carrying place," at Fort "Lydius," or "Nicholson," or what is now Fort Edward. Here he erected a fort which, in honor of their commander, the soldiers called Fort Lyman. Johnson afterwards changed the name of this fortification to Fort Edward, in honor of the then Duke of York. From the 9th to the 11th of August, the soldiers were busy cutting a road thirty feet wide to Fort Ann, and had completed it for eight miles on the way to Wood Creek, preparatory to marching on to Crown Point, when, on the 14th of August, General Johnson arrived with the stores and artillery, the regiments of Colonel Ephraim Williams, Colonel Guttridge and Colonel Titcomb, King Hendrick and 250 Mohawks, and Joseph Brant, then a thirteen-year-old boy.

Three well-marked Indian trails ran to the "great carrying place;" one on the north, extending from the ford of the Hudson to Fort Ann and so on to Wood Creek and Skenesborough, or what is now Whitehall, called the eastern route; one running from the head of South Bay on Lake Champlain through Welsh Hollow past Fort Ann, and so on down to Fort Edward, called the middle route; while the western route was by way of Glens Falls, then known to the Indians by the name of Chepontuc, to the head of the lake; a distance of fourteen miles, over a sandy soil, under heavy yellow pines, and through a densely wooded district. On arriving at Fort Edward, General Johnson decided to take the western route, rather than the one to Wood Creek, and accordingly, abandoning the latter, on the 23d of August he began cutting out and constructing a broad and serviceable road through the towns of Kingsbury and Queensbury, through what are now the main streets of the villages of Fort Edward, Sandy Hill and Glens Falls, over the Half-way Brook, past the foot of French Mountain, and so on to the head of what was then called Lake St. Sacrament. And here, where

> "Ne'er a white man's foot had trod
> An inch of soil, or rock or sod,"

on the 28th of August, General Johnson arrived with a detachment of 3,400 men, and, on ground a little in advance of that now covered by the ruins of Fort George, encamped, with the lake at the rear and almost impassable swamps and woods on either side; while under the immediate direction of Colonel Williams, who was the best equipped man in the command for the purpose, a clearing was made for a picket fort on the headland, afterwards occupied by Fort William Henry. In honor of George II., General Johnson gave the name of Lake George to the sheet of water before him. Here the time was occupied in cleaning up a place for a camp and building shelter for stores and supplies, pending the arrival of the balance of the expedition from Albany and Fort Edward. Finally, on the 3d of September, General Lyman arrived with the remainder of the troops and the heavy artillery, making an army of about 5,000 in all, and arrangements for the advance down the lake were pushed as expeditiously as possible.

Meanwhile Baron Dieskau, the newly arrived commanding general of the French armies in America, had been dispatched to Fort Frederick on Lake Champlain, with a large body of regular troops and a considerably larger force of Canadians and Indians. The original plan of this officer had been to attack the English forts at Oswego, but at a conference held in Montreal, on account of Johnson's advance, it was decided to meet the English general and prevent his reduction of Crown Point and possible attack on the Canadian frontier. After encamping at Fort Frederick for fifteen days and getting ready for his advance, on the 2d of September, he bivouacked at Carillon, or about where Fort Ticonderoga now lies. On the 4th of September he started with a flying corps of 300 regulars, 600 Canadians, and 600 Indians, considering this a sufficient force to meet the English militia, which he called "the worst troops on the face of the earth." The next day he reached the head of South Bay and took the middle route over the South Bay trail for the "great carrying place." Misled by his Indian scouts, he turned aside when passing through what is now Kingsbury street, and came out of the forest not far from the flat below Green's bridge on the road to Sandy Hill. Here, probably near the Cold Brook, he encamped for the night. He wished to surprise Fort Lyman unprepared and unready for his coming, but his Indian allies refused. They, however, consented to attack the army at Lake George; so the next morning, on the fatal 8th of September, at daybreak, he swung out into the road opened by General Johnson between Fort Lyman and Lake George, his troops marching in three columns, Canadians on the right, Indians on the left, and the French regulars in the centre. They reached the heights just north of the present "Half-Way House," about eight o'clock in the morning. Local tradition says "that from here, to screen their advance and hide their numbers, Dieskau's soldiers cut down branches from the trees and bore them like Malcolm's forces who carried Birnam wood to Dunsinane." Here he took some English prisoners, who informed him that "a large body of English and Indians were following them on their way to reinforce Fort Lydius." Consequent upon this news Dieskau ordered his troops to leave their packs and baggage, and, rush-

ing them forward, he placed them in ambush along the sides of the road — the Indians on the left, their lines extending for half a mile; the Canadians on the right, the line stretching out for over a quarter of a mile, and resting in the ravine and near Rocky Brook, while the regulars halted 300 paces to the rear; the whole forming a cul-de-sac, or a sort of hollow square with one end open — the idea being to flank the English with the long line of Indians and inclose them in a ring of fire.

While Dieskau was carrying out these manoeuvres, on the night of the seventh, an English scout had reported that he had observed a large body of the French and Indians four miles above Fort Lyman. The next morning a council of war was held, and Colonel Ephraim Williams, who had won his spurs as an Indian fighter in Western Massachusetts, with a force of 1,000 men and 200 Mohawks, under King Hendrick, was detailed to go to the assistance of Fort Lyman. The relief party started from the camp between eight and nine o'clock. A contemporary writer, Colonel Pomeroy says they marched in the following order: "Whiting (Lieutenant-Colonel) in the middle, Cole (Colonel Cole of Rhode Island) brought up the rear, old Hendrick, king of the Six Nations, before, and Colonel Williams, the Indians, some afore, some in the middle, and some in the rear, and so intermixed through as they got ready to march." The road as laid out followed the course of the ravine, extending from the head of the lake southward for a distance of several miles, and on this line Colonel Williams' detachment moved.

It has always been a mystery to students of history and tactics why so few military precautions were taken by Colonel Williams on this occasion. He was an able, cautious leader, thoroughly versed in Indian warfare; had served with marked ability against the savage foe; and yet, as if starting for a holiday excursion, according to Colonel Pomeroy's account, he marched his men off in a careless, haphazard manner, with his Indian allies, who should have been several miles in advance as scouts and skirmishers, mixed in the ranks anywhere they found it convenient to fall in. Perhaps, however, aside from his belief in a kismet or fore-ordination which was to bring about his death during this expedition, and maybe a moody carelessness aris-

ing therefrom, he did not credit the intelligence brought by the scouts as being fully reliable, or, supposing the enemy still in the vicinity of Fort Lyman, he moved with less precaution than he would otherwise have done, expecting to reform his ranks in time to meet the enemy.

About two miles south of the encampment, near the place now known as Hendrick's Spring, he halted to allow the rear guard to come up. Here a detachment of Mohawks, with King Hendrick, passed to the front. King Hendrick was mounted on a small horse loaned him for the occasion by General Johnson. At ten o'clock the columns resumed their march. Skirmishers were at last thrown out, who advanced cautiously, beating the dense woods on the right and left.

About one-third of a mile south of the sheet of water now known as Bloody Pond, the road is "narrowed by the abrupt shoulder of a hill projecting from the west, while on the east the sharp acclivity and rugged sides of French Mountain abut the narrow defile. At its base creep the shimmering waters of a rivulet known as Rocky Brook." A herd of deer, startled by the French advance, came rushing down the defile and broke through the ranks of the English column, when it was but a short distance from the ambush. Instead of being warned by this occurrence the English continued to advance fearlessly, marching in two ranks along the road, until they had entered some ways within the sides of the ambuscade. King Hendrick suddenly exclaimed to Colonel Williams, "I smell Indians!" The detachment moved cautiously ahead, when one of the French allies called out: "Whence came you?" Hendrick replied: "From the Mohawks. Whence came you?" The answer was returned: "Montreal," accompanied by a few scattering shots. Then came the terrific warwhoop of the Indians and a destructive volley was fired by the Canadians from the woods and rocks on the right. Then the Indians on the left poured in a heavy fire on the surprised Provincials, who, not suspecting and unprepared for the ambuscade, made but a slight resistance. Colonel Williams, seeing that the firing was the heaviest from the ascent on his right, where the Indians were located, ordered the troops to charge up the hill, hoping to turn the flank of the enemy and to gain a more commanding position for his men. No sooner,

however, had they advanced with changed front, than from the summit came a most destructive volley, and the Provincials, stunned, with thinned ranks, went backward, became a mob, and, panic-stricken, took to their heels. Colonel Williams, shot through the head, fell lifeless at the head of the column, near the rock which now bears his name. His body was hidden by two of his comrades on the spot where it fell, to prevent its mutilation by the savage foe. After the action it was interred beside the old military road at the foot of a pine tree, and its place marked by a small granite slab inscribed with the initials "E. W." About 1844, the skull was removed from the grave by Dr. William H. Williams, a nephew, and taken to Raleigh, N. C. The original pine tree fell long ago, but after the erection of the memorial monument the grave was refilled and a boulder placed upon it bearing the inscription "E. W., 1755." In 1854, the rock which bears the name of the fallen warrior was marked by a plain marble shaft, suitably inscribed, placed upon it by the Alumni of Williams College, the ground being donated by leading citizens of the town of Queensbury. This spot has lately, under the direction of the Society of Colonial Wars, been cleared up and put in proper shape, and the defacement of the monument by iconoclastic relic seekers, which had become quite serious, stopped.

After the death of Colonel Williams the command devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Nathan Whiting of Connecticut, who, with signal ability, conducted a most successful retreat. A temporary stand was made at the small pond, afterwards called Bloody Pond, behind which the troops rallied, and here the French were checked for a little while by the brave resolution of the Provincials. On account of the spirited resistance made by Colonel Whiting, the enemy were an hour and a half driving the fugitives before them. With inexcusable carelessness, General Johnson had neglected to construct entrenchments and fortifications, which, as a military commander, it was his first duty to do. Hearing the firing, which gradually came nearer, preparations were rapidly made for placing the camp in shape to be defended. Rude breastworks were hastily thrown up, composed of trees which had been felled in clearing the spot of the camp, while wagons and *batteaux* were also

pressed into service in the formation of these temporary fortifications. The flanks and rear were protected by some artillery, which had fortunately been brought up from Fort Lyman two days before. Lieutenant-Colonel Cole was dispatched with about 300 men to assist and relieve Colonel Williams' detachment. He met the retreating troops and, a little north of the Bloody Pond, checked the pursuit of the enemy by heavy volley firing, and so protected the fugitives as they retreated into camp. This engagement lasted until about noon and constituted, as Dr. Holden says, "the battle long known in fireside story and oral tradition as 'the bloody morning scout,' which resulted in disaster and humiliation to the English cause, and wellnigh terminated the fortunes of the day." The English lost in this engagement 216 dead and 96 wounded. Among the officers killed, in addition to Colonel Williams, were Colonel Titcomb, and Major Ashley, Captains Hawley, Porter and Ingersoll; Lieutenants Cobb, Pomeroy and Burt, and Ensigns Stratton and Wait of Colonel Williams' regiment alone. The French and their Indian allies also met with severe losses; M. de St. Pierre, the leader of the Indians, an officer of distinction and merit and Washington's conqueror the preceding year, being among the slain. Of the Mohawks, thirty-eight were killed and twelve wounded.

This skirmish was fought in part within the present limits of the town of Queensbury. Baron Dieskau, following out his motto, "Boldness wins," rushed his men forward, hoping to enter the camp along with the fleeing English, and, with the advantage thus gained by the confusion, overcome the troops at the lake. He was doomed to be again disappointed by his Indians and Canadians, who refused to advance far in this manner; so, depending on his small force of regulars, he went on, after a delay of fifteen minutes, which, however, gave the English time to recover from their surprise and prepare for him a warm reception, and made a spirited charge on the encampment. The noise of the artillery which at once opened on the French troops caused the Indians to run, terror-stricken, to the shelter of the deep forest. The Canadian militia also fled before the fierce onslaught of the Colonists. Sir William Johnson was seriously wounded early in the engagement, and Gen-

eral Lyman, the second in command, conducted what is considered by all experts to be one of the most important Indian fights in history to a successful termination. Finally the English troops, losing their fear of their opponents, jumped over the breastworks, drove the enemy before them, and the day was won. The battle had continued practically without cessation from ten o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon. General Dieskau, who was taken prisoner, received several severe wounds, from the effects of one of which he afterwards died. Several legends in regard to the infliction of this wound have been told, but the writer, in the preparation of this paper, ran across one which he thinks will be new to most of his hearers.

It goes on to relate that when Colonel Williams was on his way to Albany, while passing through the valley of the Hoosac, he was successful in restoring to a family a little child who had been lost in the woods and for whose rescue he delayed his journey. The grateful father came with him to Lake George and was in the party which met disaster in the French ambuscade. After performing feats of valor in attempting to rally the English soldiery, this man finally succeeded in firing the shot which brought Dieskau down. Badly wounded, he then dragged himself back to the spot where Colonel Williams had been killed and died beside his hero's body.

On the evening of this same day a party of 100 New York and 150 New Hampshire men, under the command of Captain McGinnis of Schenectady and Captain Folsom of New Hampshire, which had been sent out from Fort Lyman scouting in the direction of the lake, heavy firing having been heard at the Fort during the day, reached a point in the road about four miles from the head of the lake, and came upon the enemy's packs and baggage. Placing a heavy ambush near the baggage, they passed over the hill and came suddenly upon nearly 300 Indians and Canadians sitting around a pool of water in the valley below. These were skulkers from Dieskau's ranks, and, as they sat there eating, the English poured in a destructive volley, and great numbers of the men were slaughtered. The survivors, after as good a defense as possible, fled fearfully into the ambush which had been placed not far from where the

second toll-gate on the plankroad now stands, and nearly all of them were killed. Captain McGinnis was mortally wounded in the skirmish and Captain Folsom seriously wounded. It is stated that the great ranger and scout, Robert Rogers, who was a private in the company of Captain Isaac Corsa of New Hampshire, made his first appearance in action in this skirmish. For weeks afterward the water was reddened with the blood of the fallen soldiers, and from this cause was affixed forever to this dank and dismal pool the name of "Bloody Pond." This completed the defeat of the French and the few survivors made their way through the woods to Fort Frederick, and so on into French territory.

So ended the first act of the great drama of American progress: an act which included in the cast of characters Israel Putnam, as a private in the Connecticut regiment; Colonel Pomeroy, twenty years later one of the Bunker Hill heroes; Colonel Ruggles, afterwards President of the "Stamp Act" Congress; Lieutenant Stark, in after years to be celebrated as one of the famous heroes of our Revolutionary War; and many other officers well known in American history, who gained their first laurels at this skirmish, in the deep, dark recesses of the pine trees at Lake George.

Thus died Colonel Williams in the forty-second year of his age. He came of Welsh stock, was born in Newton, Mass., and in his youth made several voyages to Europe for his maternal grandfather. "Soldier and sailor too," he was trained in commercial pursuits as well as those of war. "He was a large, fleshy man of fine manners and customs, of a kindly heart and pleasing address, and as a matter of course enthusiastically beloved and looked up to by the men of his command." With superior acquirements and of excellent executive ability, with a talent and taste for the art of war, he was chosen as captain in the French and Indian wars, from 1744 to 1748, and later commanded the line of forts from Fort Dummer, in Vermont, to Fort Massachusetts in the latter Province, which he made his headquarters. He had made investments in land in Stockbridge, Mass., which was the foundation of the estate he afterwards gave towards the institution of Williams College." "Within the present township of Williamstown," says the his-

torian of Queensbury, "a few adventurous pioneers had begun settlement. The struggles and denials of these hardy settlers incited the commiseration and lively sympathy of Colonel Williams, and even at this early date, while fighting for protection and deliverance from their savage foe, he gave them intimations of his future beneficence and care." In recognition of his great military ability he was successively promoted to the grades of major, lieutenant-colonel and colonel in 1754–1755. His command was ordered to Albany by General Shirley, and on the 22d of July, in that city, with an apparent foreknowledge of his death, he made his will — leaving the bulk of his estate "to the support of a free school in the township west of Fort Massachusetts, providing the township fell within Massachusetts Bay, upon running a line between that Province and New York, provided the said township when incorporated should be called Williamstown." After thirty years, a sufficient sum of principal and interest had accumulated to warrant the institution of the free school, and the building now known as West College in Williamstown was erected and maintained as an academy. In 1793 the Legislature of Massachusetts erected the school into a college, by the name of Williams College, and seven years ago the centennial of this institution of learning was celebrated with proper ceremonies and observances.

In the language of another, "Colonel Williams was a fair exponent of the average life of his day; a man with no special love for learning so far as can be discovered; a man of affairs rather than of books, of the camp rather than the cloister; loving the salt sea breeze better than the odors of musty tomes; and quickened by his contact with his fellows rather than by what Lowell calls 'the smell of the leather;' one of the common people whom he served so well; one of whom little is now known except that he was upright, clean, manly, and a brave officer in his Majesty's forces." Judged by his actions, however, we must agree with what has been said of him, that "Humanity made a most striking feature in his character, and universal benevolence was his ruling passion."

The same sun which on that bright September morn looked down upon the blood-stained defile of French Mountain and witnessed the fall of the hero warrior, to-day gilds the summit

of the marble shaft which marks the spot where he fell; touches with its enlivening beam the darkling waters of the holy lake, or empurples the diadem of hills which surrounds the spires and towers and halls on the slopes of Williamstown. Williams is dead, yet Williams lives! And over and above all and through all is the same great Providence which, on that bloody morning of the 8th of September, permitted him to die that an institution might come forth as a child of his will, from which should spring a distinguished line of teachers, masters and spiritual pastors; from which should come the beginning of missions in foreign lands; which should witness the inception of astronomical research in this country; which should inaugurate the first natural history society ever known in America; from which should come the practical application of "the law of love and love is law," by men in all the professions of life; in the halls of Congress, in the legislative bodies of the States, in the executive chair of the various Commonwealths, or in the White House at Washington; by men in business and the higher walks of life. Wherever the battle of existence goes on there will be found flying the purple flag of Williams. Taught on the dear old Mark Hopkins model to be clean, honest, upright; to do their duty by God and man; to honor the civil authorities and to obey those over them; her graduates, benefitted by their sojourn in the valley of the Hoosac, with the beautiful setting which nature has given it, come forth into the world believing in the common brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God, and thankful to him who, before going to his final earthly sleep on the rocky sides of French Mountain, gave to the world the institution which those who know her best have ever loved as their Alma Mater.

"Ashes to ashes, dust to dust!"
Their weapons now consumed by rust,
In common grave and side by side
Saxon and Frank alike abide.
No trumpet call, no volleyed roar,
Shall wake those warriors evermore;
The heroes of that crimson morn,
The leaves of history adorn,
While Williams' walls his fame augment
Form aye the soldiers' monument!

# BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE AND BARON DIESKAU, 1755.

Mrs. ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH.

WE, members of the State Historical Society, meet here to-day, in the midst of the great northern valley which has been for centuries the warpath of mankind; here the Iroquois and the Algonquins waged their long contest for supremacy — here the heroes and martyrs of Christianity carried on and pushed forward their mighty struggle for the victory of the Cross of Christ, and here again the Christian nations of a different faith and a different race met in the clash of arms to test the ownership of the soil; and here again, later, men of the same race battled for the supremacy of liberty — for the cause of independence.

Could we choose a spot more sacred to memories of the past; more inspiring of hope for the future? We stand here to-day at the climax of the nineteenth century! We are burdened, as it were, by its marvelous richness of development and history, while at the same time our hearts are full, and our thoughts overwhelmed with the mighty and tragic events which are transpiring in the far East — events pregnant with the history of our own generation, events that, amid their horrors, still speak to us in thrilling tones of the possibilities of a unity and harmony of interests and of action in those nations and those races of men who were engaged in the conflicts that make this spot memorable. Here, then, there comes to us such a crowd of conflicting thoughts that we must pause for a moment, and contemplate the repose, the ineffable beauty, the persistent peace of this lovely valley, of this exquisite lake, whose crystal waters inspired its first civilized name as that of the Holy Sacrament — and while the peace and beauty of this rare scene rests upon us, we may fitly recall the events of that intermediate

period when the fortunes of this mighty continent hung in the balance between the controlling power of the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin races — this, the world's first continent, for here we may turn our eyes westward and exclaim:

> O, Adironacks, mighty hills,
> Where Earth first felt tumultous thrills
> Of life, and, turning her fair face,
> Looked on the universe and space!

Here, then, as has been so clearly stated to you by the preceding speakers, the American Colonists of New England and New York, under Johnson, Lyman and Williams, holding in their ranks two heroes of the future — Stark and Putnam — assisted by the Mohawk Indians under their famous King Hendrick, awaited the attack of the French and Indians under command of the veteran Baron Dieskau.

Soon after Braddock had sailed from England, the French government sent a fleet with reinforcements to Canada under their famous General Dieskau, and in June he had landed with the new Governor of Canada, de Vaudreuil, at Quebec. As Braddock at Alexandria had exclaimed with confidence, "Fort Du Quesne can detain me but three or four days, and I see nothing to obstruct my march to Niagara," so Dieskau at Quebec felt an assured confidence of victory with his fine body of regulars; he said: "I will put the raw countrymen to rout, and will not hold my hand until they are chased back to Albany." "Boldness wins!" was the maxim of Dieskau. He was a German soldier, born in Saxony, in 1701, engaged in the French service, where he had risen to high rank by his gallantry and skill. He had been trained under the famous Marshal Saxe in his brilliant campaigns in Flanders which culminated in the victory of Fontenoy. Saxe had invented a new system of tactics which brought him high honors from the French government. Dieskau was his confidential adjutant, and had been sent by him to St. Petersburg about the time that the devotion of the Duchess Anna Ivanovna to Saxe came so near raising him to the imperial throne of Russia — only his own fickleness stood in the way.

Dieskau afterwards held command of the important military post at Brest, and was selected as the man best fitted to lead in the coming conflict in the New World.

The daring of his character was displayed in his first expedition when, with but 200 of his regulars, and larger bodies of Canadians and Indians, 600 each, he sailed down Lake Champlain and struck into the wilderness to attack the enemy. His first bitter disappointment was in the refusal of his Indian allies to attack Fort Edward, but he wisely yielded to their reluctance; he turned away from the fort, and you know how, with what skill, he planned an ambush for the American Colonists under Williams. The surprise was complete; General Williams and King Hendrick were killed, and the opposing column was driven back to the camp at Lake George. Dieskau, inspired by his constant principle of boldness, hurried on in pursuit of his defeated foe, intending to enter the camp with them, but again his Indians hesitated, and it was necessary, by delay, to induce them to proceed. Irritated, but hopeful, inspired by the memory of success in the past, Dieskau, leading his regulars, threw himself with unsurpassed enthusiasm upon the defenses of the colonists and against the centre of Johnson's army, now entrenched behind their rapidly constructed breastworks; his fine French soldiers were nearly annihilated in this charge, killed almost to a man, by the well-aimed bullets of the Americans. Dieskau was three times wounded, but would not retire. Two Canadians came up to carry him off the field; one was shot dead by his side; he dismissed the other one, and, seated on the stump of a tree, although seriously wounded, he continued to give orders. Like our own brave Herkimer, he was regardless of his own suffering while he urged his troops to continued effort, but his sacrifice was unavailing; the Indians of his division slipped away to rob and mutilate the wounded and the dead on the battle-field where they had been victorious earlier in the day, and the Canadians sought safety in flight. The brave commander, Dieskau, was left amidst his dead regulars, and was taken captive and carried on a blanket to the tent of Sir William Johnson. It was difficult to save him from the fury of the Mohawk Indians who had lost their king, but Johnson protected him and treated him with courtesy and tenderness,

not only in the first hours of his suffering and humilation, but afterwards in the long years of his captivity and lingering illness. He was the guest of General Schuyler at Albany, and later was taken to New York. His physical disability continued even after his return to France, where, however, he was welcomed with distinction and rewarded in accordance with his merit and his great sacrifices. He died near Paris in 1767.

So truly does the spirit of heroism command admiration and loyalty in every nation, that we are led to believe the time not too distant when the whole civilized world will unite in recognition of such high virtue, when patriotism will be not limited to nationalities or races, but will culminate in a universal patriotism that will make the " whole world kin," and the only cause for warfare shall be the progress of civilization and a struggle towards the higher life of nationalities.

# MAJOR-GENERAL PHINEHAS LYMAN.

Rev. WILLIAM O. STEARNS.

AMONG the original authorities cited by such writers as Parkman and Bancroft and by "Narrative and Critical History of America," "Travels in New England and New York," by Timothy Dwight, chosen President of Yale College in 1795, is mentioned. The author was contemporary with many of the events described, knew many of the men whose character he portrays, and possessed, in a remarkable degree, a keen and judicial mind. In the preface he says: "Of the dead I have in several instances given characters. Where I have known them, I am responsible for what I have written. Where I am indebted to history, or information, the materials relied on were such as appeared to be satisfactory."

To Dr. Dwight belongs much of the credit of rescuing from oblivion many of the details of the life and character of Major-General Lyman, and it is from this source that most of the material of the present paper has been gathered.

It would have been of great value to have been privileged to consult the volumes of memorials of the Lyman family, but the opportunity to do so was not mine.

Phinehas Lyman was born at Durham, Connecticut, about the year 1716. He entered Yale College in 1734, and received the degree of A. B., in 1738. The following year he was appointed a tutor in the college. After three years of such service he began the study of law, was admitted to the bar, and hung out his shingle as lawyer in the town of Suffield. His natural and acquired ability soon secured for him an extensive practice. His personal character began to assert power to win approval, an effectiveness that, with little interruption, distinguished him through life. Convinced by his arguments, the people of Suffield sent him to secure for them admission to the Colony of Connecticut, they having been assigned, erroneously,

to the Old Bay State. Succeeding in this mission, as a reward he was chosen representative of his town in the Connecticut Legislature, and in 1753 was elected to the Council, continuing in office until 1759. In 1755, he was appointed Major-General, and Commander-in-Chief of the Connecticut forces, and held this office until the war, of which the battle of Lake George was one of the chief events, was ended.

In 1762, he was sent as Commander-in-Chief of the American forces in the expedition to Havana. He followed this expedition by another, into which he was urged by both English and American officers. A company was formed under the name "Military Adventurers." All the members were participants in the late war. Their purpose was to secure from the English Government a grant of land bordering on the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers, where they proposed to settle, together with as large a company of their friends as could be persuaded to try the adventure with them.

General Lyman was sent to England as agent of the new company. He went with the assurance that his effort would meet with success.

Unfortunately for him, the matter became one of personal favoritism. His own warm friends in the English ministry were removed from office just about this time, and their successors had other friends of their own to provide for. President Dwight says, regarding this: "It will be difficult for a man of mere common sense to invent a reason why a tract of land in a remote wilderness, scarcely worth a cent an acre, could be grudged to any body of men who were willing to settle in it. It will be more difficult to conceive how it could be refused to a band of veterans who had served their country faithfully through a long war, and had contributed by their gallant efforts to bring that war to a glorious conclusion. Still more strange must this appear, when it is remembered that the settlement of these men in that wilderness would have formed an effectual barrier against every enemy in that quarter; and that their agent was a man who might fairly expect to find a favorable answer to every reasonable request."

Suffice it to say, that the rebuffs, the false promises, the specious reasons for delay, the political trifling broke his proud

spirit and made him feel that he was being made a dupe. Shamed in mind, and broken-hearted, he resolved never again to look his friends at home in the face. Thus eleven years in the life-story of a man of great energy were wasted. His second son was sent to England by Mrs. Lyman in 1774 to urge her husband to return home. The sight of his son stirred him again to activity, and the tract of land in question was granted the company, and he received an annuity of £200 for military services. Cheered by this success he sailed for home.

Remaining in Connecticut only a short time, he departed for the unknown and far-off Mississippi with his eldest son and a few friends. In 1776, he was followed by Mrs. Lyman and the rest of the family, except the second son. A few months after her arrival, this intrepid woman died. The rest of the family continued in the country until the Spaniards invaded and conquered it in 1781 and 1782. Before Mrs. Lyman's death, however, the General had seen his eldest son pass away very soon after landing; had then pushed on up the Mississippi to the vicinity of Natchez, and on September 10, 1774, died, having accomplished but little in establishing his colony. The family cast in their lot with the remaining adventurers. A fort was built at Natchez, from which they were driven out by the Spaniards, and made a wonderful journey through the wilderness to Savannah, Georgia. Loyal subjects of Great Britain, they were forced to avoid contact with the American Revolutionists as well as with the Indians of the forests. They wandered more than thirteen hundred and fifty miles and travelled a hundred and forty-nine days. The story reads like a romance.

It was to them no romance, but terrible reality. Their sufferings from wild beasts, savages, hunger, thirst and disease, were constant. Once they sent three of their company into a Creek or Muscogee village in search of food. As the men rode among the Indians, the savages noticed that their saddles were similar to those used by the Virginians, with whom they were at war. Hence the chiefs classed them as enemies also. Saddles were a stronger argument than talk. Assertions of friendship and peace were of no avail. The Indians gathered about them to put them to death. At this critical moment a black servant of

Colonel McGillivray, a white man, who was well known to the Indians and of great authority among them, entered the circle and demanded the cause of the commotion. Having satisfied himself that the white men were friends, he did what he could to save them. He addressed the Indians in strong, unrepeatable language, until finally one of them said: "If they are Englishmen, as they profess, they can make the paper talk." The idea being that, like other Englishmen, they must have kept a written record of their journey. One of the men, President Dwight's eldest brother, produced a portion of an old letter and began to read from it, as if giving in detail an accurate account of their journey, and recounting their adventures all the way from Natchez. Gradually the ferocity pictured in the faces of the savages softened, the knives were put away, assistance was promised and given abundantly, and the whole company recruited for furthering their way.

This is but one incident in a journey which compares favorably with Whitman's crossing the western plains and the Rocky Mountains in order to plant the flag on Oregon; and, with many another, exhibiting the daring fortitude of the men, women and children of those early times.

Two daughters of General Lyman died before the wanderers reached Savannah. Three of his sons survived and continued loyal subjects of Great Britain. The second son, who went to England to urge his father's return, received a commission in the British Army and held it until 1782. Then, disheartened and overwhelmed with grief at the misfortunes of his family and their death under such unhappy circumstances, he sold his commission, returned to this country, and took up his residence in Suffield, Conn. Here he failed to seize and use the opportunities for making a living offered him, and in a few years became an object of charity, and died a broken-hearted man.

It was in March, 1755, that Phinehas Lyman took command of the forces of Connecticut, as Major-General and Commander-in-Chief. He was at the head of twelve hundred men and joined the forces under William Johnson recruited from the New England Colonies, New York, and from the Indian allies under Sachem Hendrick. The first rendezvous was at Albany, the object being an attack on Crown Point. "In July," says

Parkman, "about three thousand Provincials were encamped near Albany, some on the 'Flats' above the town and some on the meadows below." Lyman was second in command, the position having been the condition under which Connecticut furnished her quota of troops.

The combined force marched from Albany after many vexatious delays to the great carrying place, where Fort Lyman was built, the name afterwards being changed by direction of Johnson to Fort Edward.

Leaving five hundred men to guard Fort Lyman, the main body on August twenty-sixth pushed on to Lake George, hewing a road for themselves as they went. An Indian brought news to Johnson at sunset, Sunday, September the seventh, that the French and Indians were approaching. By advice of Hendrick, a large scouting party was at once sent out under command of Colonel Williams, with the tragic results of which we are already familiar. Johnson says in his report that the survivors came into camp "in large bodies," a decisive proof of the skill and coolness with which the retreat was conducted.

About 11:30 A. M., September the eighth, the French appeared, marching up the road toward the present location of Fort George. They halted, and Dieskau sent out flanking parties, the Indians to the right and the Canadians to the left, while his French regulars were to form the assaulting party. His purpose was to surround the English, and the ground was favorable to the plan. Pomeroy, however, drove away the Indians with a few shells and grapeshot. Dieskau led his men to the assault. In the first half-hour General Johnson was shot in the thigh — a fleshwound that bled freely. An eye witness says: "He was able to walk away to his tent" (Mrs. Joseph Burt). General Lyman then took command and, according to Colonel Seth Pomeroy, stationed himself in the front of the breastwork and there directed everything for a battle of five hours. Parkman says: "It is a marvel that he escaped alive, for he was four hours in the heat of the fire, directing and animating the men."

"It was the most awful day my eyes ever beheld," wrote Surgeon Williams to his wife; "there seemed to be nothing but thunder and lightning, and perpetual pillars of smoke."

At four o'clock the English and Indians leaped over their

military breastworks and charged the French, who fled and were fiercely pursued for a little distance. Had Lyman's advice, to pursue immediately and with vigor, been followed the defeat would easily have become a rout.

The French force would have been destroyed or captured. Mr. Burt says: "General Lyman urged this measure with a warmth rarely exhibited by him." Either from sloth or timidity, or an exaggerated idea of the number of Dieskau's forces, Johnson refused to follow this advice and remained at Lake George and built a fort which he called Fort William Henry.

He seems to have been jealous of Lyman, for in his official report to the Governors of the Colonies he makes no mention of his name at all. As a consequence, Lyman received no recognition of his services in the battle, while Johnson was presented with a baronetcy and a gift of £5,000.

President Dwight, who was acquainted with some of the combatants when he wrote his volumes of travel, philosophizes there as to Johnson's act, which he regards as inexcusable: "Lyman was in every respect, and was undoubtedly, felt by Johnson to be, his superior. He had received an enlightened education; was distinguished for learning and science; held a high rank at the bar, and a high station in civil life; was dignified in person and manners, serene in danger and exceedingly beloved by his soldiers. Johnson was an uneducated adventurer, of little consequence in his own country, and suddenly raised to distinction in this by the aid of powerful friends, to whom he made himself convenient by his native energy, shrewdness and activity, and by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances. His ambition at the same time was vast; his avarice greedy; and his moral susceptibility, if it had ever existed, principally gone. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he should feel the canker of jealousy toward his rival; realized, in spite of his selfishness, to be so much his superior."

Peter Wraxall, one of Johnson's most devoted henchmen, says: "General Lyman and all the officers behaved with distinguished conduct and courage." Penna. Gazette, September 18, 1755. The express, sent from Albany to New York and received the Sunday following the battle, said: "The brave General Lyman (who has added honour to the Province, in

whose service he is), is well." The conviction of the men who won the battle was that Lyman was the real hero of the day. "General Lyman," says President Dwight, "to whom the nation was indebted for the whole of the advantages (of the victory) was forgotten on the eastern side of the Atlantic; or more probably was unknown as an agent in the acquisition of this victory. His only retribution was that the government and people whom he immediately served, disregarding the base attacks on his character, did justice to his merits by public as well as private testimonies of their esteem, particularly by continuing him in the honorable stations which he had before filled."

Johnson himself frankly acknowledged, two days after the fight, while conversing with a gentleman in his tent, "that to Lyman was chiefly to be ascribed the honour of the victory." Moreover, it was doubtless due to the general recognition of Lyman's merit, as well as to the apparent neglect he had suffered from Johnson, that he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American forces to make the expedition against Havana in 1762, when the city was besieged and captured, August thirteenth, by Admiral Pococke and the Duke of Albemarle.

There appears to be little doubt that Lyman was a brave man, possessed of traits of character that won for him the esteem and confidence of his fellow-citizens; that he was also a man of such integrity that he would not demean himself by playing the part of political sycophant in order to advance personal aims, nor would he sulk in his tent when his services were passed over without a word; that his chief weakness may have been the very natural despondency which so often attacks good men when they see right and justice persistently crowded to the wall. It was a case of "What is the use?" when wrong steadily turns deaf ear to acknowledge right. "Few persons begin life," says President Dwight, "with a fairer promise of prosperity than General Lyman. Few are born and educated to brighter hopes than those cherished by his children. None, within the limits of my information, have seen those hopes, prematurely declining, set in deeper darkness. For a considerable time no American possessed a higher or more extensive reputation; no American, who reads this detail, will regard him with envy."

# A CENTURY OF STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

Professor JOHN BACH MCMASTER, LITT. D.

WHEN our forefathers, one hundred and more years ago, renounced allegiance to the British crown and founded in this country a republic of their own, they gave their reasons to the world at large. "A decent respect for the opinion of mankind," as they expressed it, required that the course of separation should be fully stated. But they went further than a mere statement of specific acts of misgovernment by king and Parliament, and in their Declaration of Independence announced certain fundamental principles of government which they called self-evident truths. They declared that all men are created equal, and have been endowed by their Maker with certain inalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that government is instituted among men for the sole purpose of protecting these rights; that it derived its just powers from the consent of the governed, and that when it fails to secure the ends for which it is created, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.

Having announced these rights of man as guiding principles to be observed in the formation of all just governments, our forefathers proceeded at once to turn the Colonies into States to replace the royal and proprietary governments they had overthrown, with State Constitutions of their own make, and to unite all into a common Union by an instrument which they called the Articles of Confederation. At first thought it would seem no more than reasonable to expect that, if these men were really sincere in the bold assertion they had made, their new Constitutions would be the complete embodiment of the great principles for the acquisition of which they had pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. But an examination of these

documents reveals the fact that in their formation very little regard was paid to the self-evident truths, and that the very men whose lips were constantly heard demanding the rights, the inalienable rights of man, went on and set up governments under which the rights of man had very scanty recognition.

They had declared that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that such consent can only be given when the governed participate in the election of the delegates who are to exercise the powers of government. They had declared that taxation without such representation is tyranny. Yet the only State where the mere payment of a tax carried with it the right to vote was the State of Pennsylvania. Elsewhere the franchise was confined to men of substance, or to persons at least well to do.

In Massachusetts the voter must have a freehold estate yielding three pounds a year, or a personal estate worth sixty pounds. In Connecticut the requirement was an annual income of seven dollars from a freehold or real estate rated on the tax list at $134. In New Jersey he must own fifty pounds' worth of real estate, free and clear. In New York he must be seized of a freehold estate worth thirty pounds, or pay a house rent of forty shillings a year, have his name on the list of taxpayers, and, on election day, have in his pocket a receipt for the taxes for the previous year. In Virginia the franchise was limited to such as owned twenty-five acres of land, properly planted, and a house whose foundation was at least twelve feet square, or a freehold of fifty acres of wild land, or was possessed of a freehold or estate interest in a lot in some city or town established by law. To be enfranchised in South Carolina, the free white man must believe in the existence of a God, in a future state of reward and punishment, and have a freehold of fifty acres.

But the right to vote when once acquired did not carry with it the right to hold office. Thousands of men who, on election day, went to the polls, were hopelessly debarred from ever, in the whole course of their lives, sitting in the Legislature or reaching the high place of Governor of a State. In Maryland no Jew, no infidel, no man who could not publicly declare that he believed in the Divine Paternity of Jesus Christ could hold any public office, or sit as a juror, be an officer in militia, or even

practice law in the courts of the State. No atheist, no Jew, no Roman Catholic, no man who did not believe in some form of the Protestant religion, could be a Governor of New Hampshire, or New Jersey, Connecticut or Vermont. Here he must be a Trinitarian and a believer in the inspiration of the Scriptures; there a Protestant and accept the Divine authority of the Bible; elsewhere he must acknowledge one God, believe in Heaven and Hell, or be ready to declare, under oath, that, in his opinion, every word of the Testaments, both Old and New, was direct from God. Nor were religious restrictions deemed enough. Heavy property qualifications were added; for the Governor must not only be pious, but rich. In one State he must own real property to the value of 100 pounds; in another of 500; in another of 5,000, and in yet another of 10,000 pounds. To be eligible to be a State Senator the voter must own a freehold worth, in some instances, 100 pounds; in some 300; in one 1,000; in others great tracts of land of from 200 to 500 acres. It was, indeed, true that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Yet, under these early constitutions, none but tax-paying, property-owning men could give that consent from which government derives its just powers. True it was that everywhere the utmost liberty of conscience was enjoyed, but the man who did not so exercise that liberty of conscience as to become a Protestant or a Catholic must give up all hope of political preferment.

Yet, in spite of all this, it would be the height of injustice to accuse our early constitution-makers of inconsistency. To have suddenly produced such a social condition as they had in mind, to have recklessly removed from the statute book every law, to have ruthlessly broken down every custom or usage at variance with the new principles, would have been acts of disorganization of the worst kind. But these men were in no sense disorganizers, anarchists. With a steadfast reliance on the truth of their principles, they waited but for a chance to apply them decently and in order, and when the chance came they were applied, and the rights of man steadily extended. While the war for independence was still raging, New York abolished entailment of estates, and Virginia granted absolute religious toleration to all men. To prate to-day of the inalienable right of man to liberty,

and then buy and sell slaves to-morrow, was glaringly inconsistent, and, within a decade after the surrender at Yorktown, five States abolished slavery, and turned the negro from a chattel to a man; and the Continental Congress passed the ordinance of 1787. Under it slavery was shut out of the Northwest Territory; religious liberty was guaranteed to every inhabitant thereof, and the estates of persons dying intestate, it was ordained, should be divided equally among the heirs.

This was a great stride forward; but greater were to follow. Reform was the order of the day, and in the general revision of the old State Constitutions and in the formation of new, the rights of man were yet further extended.

New Hampshire cast away the religious test once exacted of her Governor and legislators; took off all poll taxes and put the ballot in the hands of every male of full age. Delaware enfranchised every free male twenty-one years old who had resided two years on her soil, and ceased to ask if he believed in the Trinity and the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures. South Carolina no longer required her voters to be good Protestants, and opened the polls to Catholics. Georgia removed her religious test for civil offices and the property qualification once required of all voters.

Between the day when Washington was inaugurated at New York and the day when, mourned by the whole people, he was carried to his grave, many of the old limitations on the inalienable rights of man were thus removed forever. In general, it may be said that Church and State were separated; that religious belief ceased to be a qualification for office; that property qualifications were beginning to be reduced, and that the new democratic doctrine of universal suffrage was gaining ground. East of the Alleghanies long-established precedents, time-honored usages, the presence of a ruling class, did much to retard the progress of reform, and attempts to amend the constitutions of Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Virginia failed miserably. Yet some advance was made, and, before the second war with Great Britain opened, New Jersey adopted manhood suffrage, and Maryland took from her Legislature the power of ever again imposing a tax for the support of any form of religion.

The second decade of the present century was pre-eminently a period of constitution-making. In the course of it six new States joined the Union, and again the rights of man were extended. Some forbade imprisonment for debt after the debtor had surrendered all his estate. Some provided that the estates of suicides should be divided among the heirs just as in cases of natural death. Others made truth a good defense in libel suits. Four gave the ballot to free white males. Even the old idea that taxation and representation should go together was undergoing change, and in two of the new States representation in the lower branch of the Legislature was according to population. That all men should vote; that the people should be represented, and not mere political areas, as counties and towns; that there should be no life tenures of office, and fewer appointive and more elective officers, were now self-evident truths. They were to be applied, not justified, and in the third decade serious efforts were made to apply them in the four old States of New York, Massachusetts, Maryland and Virginia.

Here, in New York, the struggle was between the rights of property and the rights of man. As the Constitution then stood, the males were arranged in three great classes; those who could not cast a vote for any State officer; the twenty-pound freeholders and forty-shilling renters who could vote for members of Assembly, and the one-hundred-pound freeholders who were electors of Assemblymen, Senators and Lieutenant-Governor and Governor. But the narrow interpretation which the law placed on the word "freeholder" deprived of a vote many a man who, from the language of the Constitution, would seem to be entitled to it. In the eye of the law, a man who possessed a piece of real estate worth 20 or 100 pounds, that is, $50 or $250, was entitled to the franchise. But a man who held an estate in a farm or city lot for 999 years was a leaseholder, and could not vote though the land was worth thousands of dollars. In this class were thousands of farmers who, as lessees of the great Dutch manors, held their land for 999 years. A second class of disfranchised landholders were the men who had purchased their farms on the installment plan from the Holland Land Company, or the Pultney and Hornby estates. In place of selling in fee simple and taking back a mortgage, these great land-owners

would sell on long credit with payments at certain intervals and execute a contract to convey by deed when the last installment had been paid. Were or were not these "equitable freeholders," as they were called true freeholders, within the meaning of the law, and entitled to vote? The common belief was that they were not, and they cast no votes. Nevertheless, a statute had been enacted which permitted them to act as jurors. But a juror must be a freeholder, and the question of the status of the equitable freeholder became more complicated than ever. In other parts of the State it was a common custom to give a deed and take back a mortgage as security for payment. Who owned such a piece of land; the mortgagor or the mortgagee? With which did the freehold rest? The law said with both, and gave a vote to the man who happened to be in actual possession.

The doubt cast on the meaning of freeholder by these statutes, the disfranchisement of 50,000 tax-paying farmers, and the steadily growing belief that manhood suffrage was the true principle of democratic government, made this state of affairs unendurable, and in 1821 a convention to amend the Constitution gathered at Albany. That the old property qualification for electors of Governor and Assembly should be abolished was generally conceded. But a strong minority insisted that in the Senate property should be represented, and that no man should vote for a Senator who did not have in his own, or his wife's right, an interest, in law or in equity, in lands or tenements in the State to the value of $250. Without such a restriction the agricultural interests would be committed to the wind. "Universal suffrage," said Chancellor Kent, "jeopardizes property, and puts it in the power of the poor and the profligate to control the affluent. This democratic principle cannot be contemplated without terror." Most happily the dismal forebodings of the Chancellor did not prevail, and the ballot was given to every white man who paid a tax, served in the militia or labored on the highways, and to every free negro seized of a freehold worth $250.

In Massachusetts a like contest took place. The question the reformers had to answer was, will the rights of property be respected in a State where every man may cast a vote? Is it not

a fundamental principle of our system of government, it was said, that if representation in one branch of the Legislature is according to population, representation in the other should be according to property? How else can you maintain that system of checks and balances which is the safeguard, the mainstay, the sheet anchor of a democracy? "If," said Webster, "the members of both Houses are to be chosen at the same time, by the same electors, in the same districts, and for the same term of office, they will be actuated by the same feelings and the same interests. There is so little utility in this mode that if nothing else be done, it would be more expedient to choose all the members of the Legislature without distinction, simply as members of the Legislature, and make the division into two Houses, either by lot or otherwise, after these members thus chosen shall come up to the Capitol. A different sort of qualification in the electors ought to be required for the two Houses; while men with little property or none might safely be intrusted with the election of members of the House of Representatives, none but men of substance should have a vote in the choice of Senators, or be eligible to a seat in that body." This view prevailed, and though every man who was of full age, had resided one year in the State, and had paid a tax within two years was given the ballot, the old restrictions on office-holding remained.

Maryland, after a struggle of more than a decade, now struck from her Constitution the requirement that before entering on the duties of his post every office-holder must subscribe a declaration of belief in the Christian religion, and thus made Jews eligible to office.

But the extension of the rights of man was not limited to the abolition of slavery north of the Mason and Dixon line, and the Ohio river; to the abolition of religious qualifications for the office-holder, and property qualifications for the voter; to the adoption of manhood suffrage; to representation based on population, and not merely on the number of taxpayers or the number of voters. A spirit of humanitarianism, narrow indeed as we look back on it, but broad when judged by the standards of the age, was abroad in the land. The pauper and the criminal, the debtor and the unfortunate, now began to find favor in the sight of their fellows, and imprisonment for debt began to be abol-

ished, and the inalienable right of man to liberty was given yet further recognition. No records of the past furnish more horrible reading than those in which are told the horrors of the debtor's prison. For the smallest debt possible to contract, though it was but a cent, the body of the debtor, whether man or woman, might be seized by the creditor and cast into jail, there to remain till the sum was paid. By an old law which went back to the days when Pennsylvania was a Colony, magistrates were allowed cognizance, without appeal, of debts under forty shillings, or five dollars and thirty-three cents. When the debt exceeded that sum the debtor was entitled by law to a stay of execution. But no such privilege was accorded the wretch who owed a sixpence or a shilling, and who might, if his creditor chose, be dragged to jail on what were truly called "spite actions." Once behind the bars his lot was harder than that of the lowest criminal. Thieves and murderers, forgers and counterfeiters were fed, clothed and cared for at the expense of the State, but for the luckless debtor, no such provision was made. The food he ate, the rags that covered him, were provided, if provided at all, by his friends, by the public, by some Humane Society, or Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. The room in which he was confined with scores of hardened offenders was utterly without furniture of any sort. In it were neither beds nor cots, tables nor chairs, nor so much as a bench or stool. He sat on the floor, ate off the floor, and at night lay down to sleep on the floor like a dog, without so much as a blanket to cover him.

Against this violation of man's inalienable right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness humanity at last revolted, and in 1794 a change for the better was ordered. "Whereas," says the law then enacted, "many persons confined for debt in the prisons called the debtor's apartment in the city of Philadelphia are so poor as to be unable to procure food for their sustenance, or fuel, or covering in the winter season, and it is inconsistent with humanity to suffer them to want the common necessaries of life," the State must (not abolish imprisonment for debt), but come to their relief. It was, therefore, ordered that the inspector should provide fuel and blankets for such debtors as by reason of their dire poverty could not get them, and should allow each

seven cents a day for food. For twenty-two years the community seems to have thought this was all humanity required, and no change was made till 1814. Then was passed the Bread Act, under which a prisoner whose debts did not exceed $15 was entitled to his discharge after thirty days.

From documents presented to the Senate of New York in 1817, it appears that 1,984 debtors were confined in the jail at New York city during 1816, and that at least 600 were always in the prison or on its limits. The sheriff certified that 1,129 were confined for debts of less than $50; that of these 729 owed sums under $25 each; and that every one of them would have starved to death but for the kindness of the Humane Society. One man who had languished in the jail during three years for a debt of $50 had been fed by the Society during the entire time. Another had been imprisoned six years and supported by charity.

In the face of such horrible testimony as this the Legislature relented, and in 1817 abolished imprisonment for debt under $25, and State after State followed the example. New Hampshire fixed her limit at $13.33; Vermont at $15; Pennsylvania and Kentucky went further yet and utterly forbade the imprisonment of women for debt. When the States of Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi and Alabama entered the Union, between 1816 and 1820, the Constitution of each prohibited imprisonment for debt unless the debtor refused to give up his estate; but the middle of the century was almost reached before all the old States on the seaboard were willing to go to this extreme.

What was done for the debtor was done in some manner for offenders of every sort. They ceased to be a proscribed, marked and branded class, and many a cruel, barbarous and ignominious punishment was abandoned. As we read over the criminal code of our fathers, it seems almost impossible that the mass of humanity should have escaped death or disfigurement. In Massachusetts, in the days before the War for Independence, twelve crimes were punishable with death; in New York eleven; in Pennsylvania twelve. The thief or the robber was branded on the hand with the letter B, if his crime was committed on a week day, and on the forehead if done on a Sunday. The murderer who escaped the gallows for any reason must have an M

burned into the flesh of his left thumb, and for any other felony a T in the same place. Counterfeiters must, in the words of the law, "be set upon the pillory, in some open public place, there have both his or her ears cut off, and be publicly whipped, with thirty-nine lashes well laid on," and if he could not pay his fine and damages he must be sold for a term not longer than seven years. The housebreaker who forced his way into a public building must, in his turn, stand in the pillory one hour, have his ears cut off and nailed to the pillory, and be whipped in public thirty-nine lashes and sent to the workhouse for one year. The sneakthief who carried off the brass knocker from a house door was fined and whipped twenty-one lashes. The lad who defaced or carried off a sign was beaten with fifteen stripes. As late as 1817 a sailor for some offence was tied to the iron rings in the outer wall of the old jail on Walnut street, Philadelphia, and flogged in the presence of a crowd. In 1822 another offender was whipped on the green in front of Yale College in the presence of the students sitting on the famous old fence.

Even the unfortunate were not suffered to escape. Misery, weakness, wretchedness of every sort was stamped in plain sight upon the man. Paupers must wear on the shoulder of the right sleeve of the outer garment a letter P three inches long, and cut out of red or blue or yellow cloth. For drunkards there was a like badge; for scolds there was the ducking-stool. So late as 1824 a woman of Philadelphia, convicted of being a common scold, was sentenced to be ducked, but escaped because the punishment, it was truly said, "was absolute and contrary to the spirit of the times." So late as 1790 the streets of Philadelphia were cleaned by men, chained to wheelbarrows, or dragging logs made fast to their ankles.

Most happily the days for such punishment were then drawing to a close. The rights of man were really being recognized, and in the years which followed the close of the struggle for independence, State after State revised its criminal code, did away with barbarous, cruel, revengeful and ignominious punishments; reduced the number of crimes punishable with death from fifteen to two, shortened the terms of imprisonment, abolished the chain-gang, the pillory, the whipping-post and the stocks; made the branding-iron a thing of the past; reformed

the discipline of jails and prisons, and turned them from seminaries of vice into reformatories. The old idea that the counterfeiter and the thief were to be branded as a warning to all before whom they appeared, that exposure in the pillory or in the stocks would cure the culprit of his evil ways and impress all who saw him with the awfulness of sin, gave place to the belief that even the wicked had some rights which the good were bound to respect. If life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were inalienable rights of man, then life was not to be taken, liberty was not to be curtailed, save as the last resort, after every other remedy had been tried and failed. Crime was something to be cured rather than punished; the criminal was an object of pity rather than of detestation. The penitentiary system was then introduced, and men and women who had once been locked in filthy cells, or hoarded in a common room and left to pass their days in idleness and vicious company, were put to work and taught the ways of industry. The lunatic in his fits of raving was no longer tied up by the thumbs and beaten into quietness. He was a man, and as such entitled to his inalienable rights, and before the middle of the century was reached our land was dotted with lunatic asylums, deaf and dumb asylums, reformatories, and homes.

Next came the poor laboring man demanding his rights, his recognition as a human being. Hitherto he had been used to toil from the rising to the setting of the sun, had been given one wage in summer and a different one in winter; had been paid at such times, or not at all, as the employer might see fit, and had his children shut out from the schools unless they went as paupers. Under the Pennsylvania law of 1802 overseers of the poor in every county were commanded to find out the names of all persons unable to educate their offspring, notify them that their boys and girls might be sent to school at the expense of the State, and to pay the cost with money taken from the poor rates. The intent was good, but the law was undemocratic. It set off the children of the rich from the children of the poor, invited the parents of the latter to come forward, make a public confession of pauperism, and ask that their boys and girls be sent, at State expense, to some private school to become objects of contempt by teachers and scholars alike. Again and again

the law was amended, but back of each change lay the old idea of pauperism. State aid was confined to the children of the poor. Many a one, therefore, went without an education because the parents were too self-respecting to take the benefits of the Poor Law.

But in the new struggle for the right, of man, the rights of children found a place. We demand, said the labor platforms of the early thirties, a lien law; a working day of twelve hours, instead of one from sunrise to sunset; payment of our wages at regular intervals in good money; the free common school and the abolition of exclusive privileges. We consider it, said they, an exclusive privilege for one part of this community to have the means of education in colleges while another is forced by dire poverty to have no education at all. We are, therefore, in favor of a system of education equally open to all men. In the opinion of their opponents, the conservative part of the community, the demands were shockingly revolutionary. Yet each one of them was long ago granted, and granted as a right. That an extreme should sooner or later be reached; that a part of the community, carried away by an eagerness to reform whatever in their opinion infringed the rights or restrained the liberties of man, should leave good sense behind, and undertake the impossible, was inevitable. Individualism became a fad, and soon put on innumerable alluring forms. Now it was Owenism proclaiming the absolute equality of all men and women, equality of rights, equality of labor, common ownership of property and cooperation to the fullest extent. That one man should have 100 acres and another not a foot of land; that one man should have $10,000 and another be in debt, was grossly unjust, and bred that inequality which made the one an aristocrat and the other a slave. Therefore, all property should be held in common. That one man should be paid ten dollars a day for his services and another fifty cents was grossly unjust. Every form of labor, from the highest to the lowest, the skilled and the unskilled, was equally meritorious, honorable and deserving. Therefore, the physician who could amputate a limb or, by his skill, save the life of a patient, was entitled to no more compensation than the man whose lot it was to dig ditches, or carry a hod. The true community was that in

which men and women dwelt in one great building, ate the same sort of food, shared the same amusements, and wore the same sort of clothing, cut in the same fashion. So far hundreds of thousands of our countrymen were ready to go. But when the Owenites declared that there should be no religion of any sort, and that marriage was a civil contract to be terminated at any moment by the consent of the parties concerned, their movement was doomed. But the great principle of the equality of all men was not abandoned. It found a new expression in politics, and was made the watchword of the Equal Righters. The faces of these men were set against every custom, usage, institution, law which gave to any corporation, association, company or individual, any privilege, exemption or right not enjoyed by the humblest man in the State. A bank could issue non-interest-bearing notes that passed as currency and were taken by the State and the people in payment of taxes and the discharge of debts. No private man could enjoy such a privilege; therefore, a bank was an oppressive monopoly, curtailing the rights and liberties of man. A railroad, a canal company, having the right of eminent domain, could take the land of the farmer against his will and force him to accept such compensation as others thought proper. No individual could do this; therefore, canal and railroad companies were monopolies and infringed the rights of man to acquire and hold property. The exemption of church property from taxation, the concentration of capital in industrial corporations, the holding of immense estates, the accumulation of great fortunes, were all unjust discriminations against the individual, hostile to equal rights, and ought to be abolished or prevented.

These, it is true, were the opinions of extremists. But beneath them all are clearly discernible the inalienable rights for which our fathers fought, the right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Their work was but one of the many phases of the ceaseless struggle for the rights of man. His political and civil rights having been secured, his industrial rights remained to be acquired, and this is the distinguishing feature of the last quarter century. Just as the recognition of the self-evident truths completely changed the legal and political status of the individual during the first half-century, so the recognition of the inalien-

